A CONTRIBUTION TO THE STUDY OF

THE FRENCH ELEMENT

IN ENGLISH

BY

Jules DEROCQUIGNY, Litt. D.

Maître de Conférences in the Faculty of Letters, University of Lille.

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LILLE

LE BIGOT BROS. PRINTERS & PUBLISHERS

REESE

TO MY WIFE

my constant helpmate

these pages are lovingly inscribed.

J. D.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ERRATA AND ADDENDA

Page 10, l. 6. *For* amoug *read* among.

» 20, l. 10. *For* Ile *read* He.

» 22, l. 15. *Insert comma after* in the 15th c.

» 27, note 3. *For* demeau *read* demean.

» 37. After *herring* add *hilt*, O.F. *helt.*

» 44. l. 4. *For* ensemble *read* ensemble.

» 52, l. 5. *For* Celtie *read* Celtic.

» 61, l. 10. *For* Freneh *read* French.

» 62, l. 9. *For* sometines *read* sometimes.

» » note. *For* F. Ball. A. XX *read* F. Ball. B. XX.

» 66, l. 5. *For* impvalider read *invalider.*

» 68, l 1 *For* carlier *read* earlier.

» 70, l. 16. For *coutumacy* read *contumacy*.

» 72. l. 4. In connexion with *depredate* a note might have mentioned O.F. *depreder,* which appears to have been both an early O.F. form and a later learned formation (See Godefroy).

» 73, l. 5. For *courtisan* read *courtesan.*

» 79, note. *For* Dr. Murray *read* Bradley's Stratmann.

» 84, l. 17. For *F. Ballades*, A. . read *F. Ballades*, B...

» 85, l. 3. *For* Tan que merci ses oignements attraie *read* Tanque merci ses oignementz attraie..

» 85, l. 5. For *F. Ballades*, A. 27. read *F. Ballades*, B. 27. 3.

» 87, l. 4 *For* ou account *read* on account.

» » l. 12. For *chair* read *chair* (flesh).

» 99, l. 20. For *bountevouse* read *bounteuouse.*

» » l. 21. For *F. Ball.* A. 31. 1. read *F. Ball.* B. 31. 2.

» 109. The article on *muzzle* is wrong A.F. *mazele* is O.F. *maisèle*, L. *maxilla*, and quite a distinct word from O F. *musel.*

» 133. To the quotation from Boeve de Haumtone append : ll. 895-7.

» 143, l. 21. For *hourler* read*hourler.*

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ABBREVIATIONS

N. E. D. — The New English Dictionary.

E. D. D. — The English Dialect Dictionary.

        The others are those used in the New English Dictionary.

I

The importance of the French Element

In our time (a melancholy phrase, as Charles Lamb says), we were warned from a Latinized diction and instructed to cultivate a Saxon style. But, inconsistently enough, the authors put into our hands, and those of the best of course, were not, so at least we thought, calculated to enforce this exclusive doctrine. Shakespeare (was it because, living in darker ages, he lacked the finer taste of this more enlightened age?) would never go out of his way to avoid the now banned Latin terms : he, on the contrary, seemed to have revelled in them. Was it not he that wrote of the blood-sullied hands of a murderess that they would

the multitudinous sea
Incarnadine.

These no doubt were the allowable freaks of genius, and everybody knows that genius may be admired but not imitated. So there was perhaps no

danger of infection from this quarter. But Addison?
He was a model of English prose. Yet it was evi-
dent that he had not sinned in over-Saxonizing his
diction. Bunyan and Defoe were the gods propo-
sed to our worship. But even in these there had
been no perceptible scruple of discarding a French
or Latin word when it came in handy. Their lan-
guage was the homely dress of their homely thought.
It was concrete, if anything. By the turn of their
mind or the quality of their subject it was that they
were kept clear of the Latin rocks on which, do
what we could, the current of our abstract thought
(and our essays were literary) would still be landing
us. Nor was there any help for it. If, in despair,
we reached down a dictionary of synonyms (neces-
sity acquaints one with strange companions), the
desperateness of our efforts was only the more
deeply brought home to us. A Saxon substitute for
clear? A dip was made for it. There was choice
indeed : *apparent, visible, distinct, manifest, plain,
obvious, evident, conspicuous, perceptible, tangible !*
Had the Saxons no idea of clearness, or have their
descendants preferred the French notion of it ? As
bad luck encountered us with *affirm : assert, assever-
ate, aver, avouch, protest*, were aliens still. *True*
was a true Saxon, but could it express the shades of
meaning contained in *actual, positive, veritable, real,
certain, extant, present?* Was *end* to throw its fellow-
workers *aim, object, view, scope*, out of employment?

Why, besides, these invidious distinctions between members of the same family ? Were not *request, entreat, implore, solicit,* as good in their way as *ask, crave, beseech,* and is not humble *beg*, with no such thing as a pedigree (as who would expect it of the poor relation ?) as good again as any of the others ? Nobody thinks of making unwelcome comparisons between the descendants of the Norman invaders or of the French Huguenot refugees and the sons of the Angles or of the Danes or of the Celts of old. They are all true Britons. What would the French do, who, though mostly of Celtic origin, speak a Latin language with a strong infusion in it of Teutonic, if they were to bethink themselves suddenly of such mistaken nationalism. It will be objected that sheer impossibility (their speech not being aboriginal) precludes the thought. In fact they have thought no more of it than did the English for ages, when they, undisturbed, suffered the flood of immigrants to pour in and even encouraged it. There was thus constituted a mighty community of words in which each eventually managed to find its particular office. Or, if two or three appeared to be doing the same duty, it was so as « with a difference ». As you must have a working suit, Sunday-clothes and an evening-dress, you may have occasion for several shifts of words.

But there came a race of writers who must always appear in ▬ evening-dress. They thought

the home words too homely or rather the abuse
originated in the practice of writers smitten with
the Latin literature and who strove to reproduce
the solemn classical numbers. All was not con-
temptible which they thus produced, as witness,
amoug others, the exquisitely quaint « Religio
Medici » and « Hydriotaphia », rare jewels in
England's literary casket. But when, in the hands
of less original geniuses, it became mere manner
and meant contempt for all simple terms with
Johnson, on whom Gibbon still improved by « cle-
verly elbowing out almost all Teutonic words except
such as *his, to, of* and the like », then did the
abuse call for redress. A reaction came. It went
the way of all reactions. It was excessive. Hence
the wholesale condemnation by philologists of all
that was not pure Saxon. Meanwhile (and we trust
this is no exaggeration) English had absorbed such
an amount of the classical vocabulary as to leave
the French, the heirs of the Latins, halting at an
almost immeasurable distance behind. We never
felt this so vividly as lately when, reading Rabelais
and coming upon the humorous passage of the
Limosin scholar « who counterfeited the French
language ». we became aware that the jest, if it
had lost some of its piquancy in French, several
of the « forced adoptions » from Latin, being now
no longer strangers, must be almost flat in English,
as the intended gibberish, only too easily Englished,

—

was, in many words, and even sentences, readily
understood, or, at the worst, made intelligible by
the help, not of a Latin, but of an English dictionary.
The reader shall judge for himself.

. « Pantagruel... encountered with a young spruce-
like scholar and... asked him thus : « My friend,
from whence comest thou now ? » The scholar
answered him : « From the alme ¹, inclyte and cele-
brate academy, which is vocitated Lutetia. — ... And
how do you spend your time there ?... — We trans-
fretate ² the Sequane at dilucule and crepuscule ;
we deambulate ³ by the compites ⁴ and quadrivies ⁵
of the urb ; we despume ⁶ the Latian verbocination ;
and, like verisimilar amorabunds, we captate the
benevolence of the omni-judging, omniform ⁷ omni-
gene ⁸ feminine sex... Then do we cauponize ⁹ in the
meritorious taberns of the Pine-apple, the Castle, the
Magdalene, and the Mule, goodly vervecine spatules,

1. Not in N. E. D., but *almifluent.*
2. E. *transfreight, transfretation.*
3. In N. E. D.
4. *Compital*, adj. in N. E. D.
5. E. *quadrivial, quadrivium.*
6. or *despumate*, both in N. E. D.
7. *Omniform, omniformal, omniformist, omniformity, omni-formness*, in N. E. D.
8. We form *omnigene* on the pattern of *hydrogene,* a variant of *hydrogen,* where the suffix was wrongly thought to mean « that which produces ». We avoid using *omnigenous* as meaning « of all sorts ».
9. or *cauponate*, both in N. E. D. But Rabelais gives his word another meaning.

perforaminated [1] with petrosile [2]. And if, by male [3] fortune, there be rarity or penury of pecune in our marsupies [4] and they be exhaust [5] of ferrugineous metal, for the scot we dimit [6] our codices [7] and vests [8] oppignorated [9] whilst we prestolate the tabellaries to proceed from the patriotic penates and lares. » To which Pantagruel answered : « What devilish language is this ? By the Lord, I think thou art some heretic. — My Lord, no, said the scholar ; for libentissimally [10], as soon as it illucesceth any minutule slice of the day, I demigrate [11] into one of those so well architected minsters, and there, irrorating [12] myself with fair lustral water, I mumble off a morsel of some missal [13] precation [14] of our sacrificules.

1. *foraminate, foraminose, foraminous, foraminule*, etc., are found in N. E. D.

2. *Petroselinum* in botany.

3. *Male*, evil, in Marston. « Par forte fortune » = O. F. « de fort hore », in an evil hour.

4. *Marsupium* in zoology.

5. This 16th c. *exhaust* has been prolific in English.

6. Obsolete, like its variants *dimiss, dismit*, all displaced by mod. *dismiss*.

7. *Codex*, 2. A manuscript volume in N. E. D.

8. Dryden.

9. Bacon. Scott in *Nigel*. Dial. (Wright) *opignorate*, Sc., a legal term for « to pledge ».

10. *Libence* and *libentiously* in N. E. D.

11. In N. E. D., as well as *demigration*, with citations from Bp. Hall and Sterne.

12. *Irrorate*, adj. & vb., as well as *irroration*, in N. E. D.

13. Used by Bp. Hall.

14. Used by Cotton.

And, submurmurating my horary precules, I elute [1]
and absterge [2] my anime [3] from its nocturnal inqui-
nations [4]. I revere the olympicoles. I latrially [5] venere
the supernal astripotent [6]. I dilige [7] and redame my
proximes [8]. I observe the decalogic prescripts ; and,
according to the facultatule of my vires, I do not
discede [9] from them one late [10] unguicule [11]. It is
indeed veriform that, because Mammon does not
supergurgitate [12] anything into my locules [13], I am
somewhat rare and lent [14] to supererogate the eleemo-

[1]. Used by Arbuthnot. *Elution*, of course, exists also.

[2]. Patronized by Burton and Coleridge. Johnson could not
have missed it. This is a F. derivation. Sir T. Browne had worked
on the traditional English lines and formed *absterse* on the Latin
past participle. We also find *abstergify !. abstergent, abstersion,
abstersive, abstersiveness* and *abstersory*.

[3]. There is *animus*, not even Englished, in another sense.

[4]. Bacon has *inquinate* and *inquination*. (cf. F. *inquiner* and
inquination in Godefroy).

[5]. In N. E. D. s. v. *latria ;* adjs. *latrial, latrian*.

[6]. In N. E. D.

[7]. Does not occur, but *dilect*, ppl. a., *dilection*, etc.

[8]. *Proxime*, adj., *proximious, proximal, proximate*.

[9]. Used by Fuller and others. Also *discess*, sb., in Wyclif, and
discession, in Bp. Hall, Hobbes, etc.

[10]. *Late* = broad, wide. « Leaves, long, *late*, mucronated,
hispid. » Tomlinson, in N. E. D.

[11]. Will, no doubt, turn up in N. E. D. It is implied by *ungui-
cular* and *unguiculate*.

[12]. In N. E. D. we find *gurgitate* = *ingurgitate* ; also *gurgita-
tion, gurgitive*.

[13]. Introduced in 19th c. from the French *locule*.

[14]. *Lent*, slow, is an E. adoption from the French. The earliest
instance appears in 15th c. It is in Ben Jonson and Arbuthnot.

synes [1] to those egents [2] who ostially [3] queritate [4] their stipe. — Tut, tut, said Pantagruel, what does the fool mean to say ? I think he is forging us some diabolical language and that, enchanter like, he would charm us. » Whereat one of his men said : « Sir, no doubt this fellow would counterfeit the language of the Parisians, but he does but flay the Latin [5] and imagines he thus Pindarizes it... » To which Pantagruel said : « Is it true ? » The scholar answered : « ... My genius is not apt nate to that which this flagitious nebulon says, to excoriate the cuticle of our Gallic vernacular, but viceversally I gnave opere [6] and by veles [7] and remes enite [8] to locupletate [9] it with the Latinicome redundance. — By the Lord, said Pantagruel, I will teach you to speak. But first, answer me : whence art thou ? »

1. Not in N. E. D., but *eleemosynar, eleemosinary, eleemosynous,* and the verb *eleemosynate.*

2. One is surprised not to find it in English by the side of *egence, egency,* and the adj. *egene.*

3. Not in N. E. D., but *ostium* and *ostiary.*

4. Non-existent, but *querent, query, querist, quesited, quesititious, quesitive,* etc.

5. We preserve the Gallicism in the words of Sir Thomas Urquhart, as, farther on, the scholar translates it into his Latinized gibberish. It is not recorded in N. E. D., while « to flay the fox », Urquhart's translation of Rabelais' « écorcher le renard » is.

6. Latin *operam gnavare.* Obs. *gnavity,* activity. « I exert gnavity » would be a quaint equivalent.

7. *Vele,* a veil, in Spenser.

8. Non-existent, but *enixed, enixibility, enixly.*

9. *Locuplete,* adj., rich., 1599, 1864 ; whence *locupletely. Locupletative,* tending to enrich, 1802, in Bentham.

To this the scholar replied : « The primeval origin
of my aves [1] and ataves [2] was indigene [3] of the
Lemovic regions, where requiesces [4] the corpore [5] of
the Hagiotate [6] St. Martial. »

The French original, as has been said, has lost
much of its comic force. Such words as *patriotique,*
crépuscule, indigène, have now nothing in them to
move laughter, though, as Stapfer justly remarks,
they looked no less extraordinary to the contem-
poraneous reader than *marsupies, egene, flagitiose*,
or *dilucule*. But what shall we say of the English
translation? The English have seriously gone the
lengths Rabelais went in jest. If, for *despumate,*
absterge, precation, excoriate, cuticle, the French
can show *despumer, absterger, précation, excorier*,
cuticule, they cannot match *irrorate, inquination,*
latrial, exhaust, supererogate, dimit [7], and possess
absolutely nothing to place by the side of *caupo-*

1. Not Englished, but *avital, avitic, avitous.*
2. Same observation — *atavic, atavism, atavistic.*
3. Or *indigen*, or *indigenal*, or *indigenary*, or *indigenate*,
or *indigenital*, or *indigenous*. The substantives are not so nume-
rous : *indigenity, indigenousness.*
4. English has the simple *quiesce* and, of course, *quiescence*,
quiescent. Quiesceous ought not to be omitted.
5. *Corpore* occurs as a verb. Eight columns and a half of the
N. E. D. are filled with derivatives of Latin *corpus.*
6. Let us mention *hagiocracy, hagiography* and derivatives,
hagiolatry, hagiology and its family, and *hagioscope.*
7. *Irroration, inquiné* (rare), *latrie, exhaustion, surérogatoire*
dimissoire, are, however, French.

nize, oppignorate, libentious, demigrate, missal (adj.),
elute, astripotent, discede, late (broad), *gurgitate,
supernal, flagitious, vernacular, primeval. Verisi-
milar* and *benevolence* might also be added : for
these « learned » words French has popular for-
mations. Is it not strange that Latin should be
more familiar to Saxon than to Romance ears?

With the hyperlatinism that the preceding test
makes palpable, it is plain that everything might be,
and was, expressed without a word of Saxon beyond
the indispensable relational words. Some then said
with some show of plausibility that English was
not only a mixed or composite language, but also
a Romance language. This assertion raised in-
dignant protestations. The grammar was English.
Even in the most Latinized writer the native ele-
ment was in excess over the adventitious one. This
was proved by taking a period or two from an
author, say a hundred words, and counting the res-
pective numbers of each vocabulary. Thus in Gibbon
himself the proportion of Anglo Saxon was found to
be 58 per cent. Then, on examination of longer pas-
sages, a more satisfactory result was obtained. Gibbon
had a proportion of 70 Anglo Saxon words [1]. What
if the 30 remaining words are the material ones?
The fallacy of the test shall be illustrated by an
example taken at hap-hazard. Let it be the newspa-

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1. Marsh. Lectures on the English language. Lect. VI.

per on our table. It would not be fair to take a leading article. This is very likely to turn out John-sonese. But a business-like document is the thing. This will not sacrifice to rhetoric, but state things in the plainest style. Thus it runs :

« It is *provided*, however, that when the *commis-sioners* of the two *governments* who are now *proceed-ing* to the *demarcation* of the *line agreed* upon by *article* IV of the *convention* of *June* 14, 1898, have *returned* and can be *consulted*,the two *governments* will take into *consideration* any *modification* in the above *frontier line* which may seem *desirable* for the *purpose* of *determining* more *precisely* the *line* of *demarcation*, with a *view* to *avoiding* any *difficulties* which might *accrue* to one *party* or the other, from a *line deviating* from the *recognized* and *properly determined frontiers*. It is *provided* that in *regard* to... »

Now if English, instead of being an analytical, were a synthetical language as Latin, which of the words used in the above extract would be preserved ? None but the Romance ones or nearly so ; almost all the Anglo Saxon particles would disappear. And yet, out of the hundred words (the figures not included) contained in the passage, only 36 are Romance, 64 are native. Note moreover that the diction here cannot be reproached with latinisation.

To this fallacy of the percentage test were added misstatements due, in part, to ignorance. The

relative proportion of the two vocabularies was said
to be of thirty Latin words to sixty Saxon words [1].
Bosworth went farther when he declared that more
than five eighths of the words were of Anglo Saxon
origin. Moreover everything was done to throw
discredit on the Romance element. The borrowed
words were pronounced to be « frigid » and « unable
to find their way to the heart [2] » (frigid the notions
of *ease, comfort, independence, privacy, plenty*, that
make up the conception of home, the evocation of
a *substantial joint*, of your well-*cushioned easy chair*
by the *chimney corner*, of the cup

> That *cheers* but not *inebriates*

in the *curtained parlour,* of the *quiet family circle
round* the *dancing flame* in the *grate*, frigid !) The
now prevailing Saxon craze blinded all eyes to
evidence. Everything must be Saxon which was
dear to English hearts. The advent of the Normans
had been a calamity. The period had been an
« unhappy era [3] » productive especially of « sinister
ill favoured words », « a mass of opprobrious
epithets ». Cotgrave, no doubt, owed it his rich
vocabulary of invective, who excelled in terms of

1. Dean Trench in Marsh's Lectures.
2. Bosworth.
3. Earle. The Philology of the English Tongue. The reader of
Freeman's Norman Conquest carries away quite a different impres-
sion.

abuse or reprobation [1], to whose tongue rough
words came so trippingly that he explains *scélé-*
rat as « a lewd villain, wicked rogue, ungracious
wretch, filthie fellow, naughty packe » and *boban-*
cier : « an unthrift, riotous waster, superfluous
spender, immoderate stroy-good, luxurious or
excesssive squanderer : also a proud, saucy, boast-
ing or insolent asse » ; where, however, the
strongest terms seem « unborrowed » !

The said period was « stigmatized » with having
« disparaged good and respectable words » such as
« villain » and « churl », which, however, have taken
an injurious sense in all the languages of the world.
The shame and misery of the enthralled Saxon was
read in the vocabulary. Such simple words as *ox* and
beef [2] were made eloquent, though, unfortunately
for the argument, *beeves* or *beefs* was long indiscri-
minately used with *oxen* and, so far from its being
due to the fact that the English serf or villain fed them
and the French landowner ate them, it would rather
expose the snobbism of the English aristocracy who
thought it « vulgar », at table, to call the meat by its
English name [3]. Even more recent philologists, who

1. Blackwood's Magazine, May 1902.

2. But the Italians also have two different words for the ox and
its flesh. A French peasant fattens « un cochon » and feeds on
« porc ».

3. Champneys. — We are afraid that the inference drawn from
the frequent occurrence, in old writers, public documents, and in
the Prayer Book, of synonyms, like *acknowledge* and *confess*,

ought to know better, persist in drawing a prejudiced parallel between the two (for them) conflicting elements. Morris himself, on this question, writes gross inexactitudes. « It is possible, says he, to carry on conversation without employing any borrowed terms. » Possible, maybe, but (note, by the by, .that the ubiquitous *very* and *quite* are not to be named) what a cramp upon fluency and how like the feat of the man who wrote a sermon in words of one syllable [1]. He then insists on the importance of the native element from a grammatical point of view. But his assertions are weakened by sad inac-

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humble and *lowly*, *goodness* and *mercy*, *assemble* and *meet*, that they betoken a wish to yoke together the Teutonic and the Romance for the better comprehension of both Normans and Saxons, is also more specious than correct. Our reason for thinking so is that the same trick (it is nothing else) prevailed in France in the same age. Such pleonasms as « voies et moyens » (E. ways and means), « oui et entendu » and a host of others to be met with in deeds and literary productions, merely bespeak an age proud of an erudition consisting almost exclusively of words.

1. The hint sends us diving for some evidence to the contrary. We light on a paper, ▇ « Black and White ». Out of a story in it, the diction of which is sufficiently characterized by the quotation, we extract the following dialogue :

« Fifty pounds berried — and not two inches deep — An' me not *allowed* to *dig* it up.

— If on'y *Pa* hadn't made you *promise*. But I never see Pa so *fixed* as he is about this *treasure*-seeking.

— It's 'ard *lines* on a young man.

— But you'll love me true in *spite* o' Pa... You ain't never goin' to *try* for it, after all ».

Not one sentence that does not contain its French word. And though both *pound* and *inch* are O.E. yet they have been borrowed from Latin (*pondus*, *uncia*).

curacies. If all pronouns and numerals are pure
English, are *several, million, second,* comprised?
May not *used,* in « he *used* to come, we *used* to
live », be considered a kind of auxiliary verb as
rightly as *do,* in « he *did* go », or *be,* in·« I *am*
writing » ? That prepositions and conjunctions are
not *all* pure English is sufficiently borne out by
this (perhaps incomplete) list : *during, pending,*
concerning, touching, regarding, except, save,
round, around, despite (not to mention the Shake-
spearian *sanz*), by *means* of, by *virtue* of, with a
view to, for the *purpose* of, *according* to, in *lieu*
of, the latter, it is true, being prepositional phrases,
which Morris may not have meant to include ; *pro-*
vided, except, because, in *case,* in *order* that, the
moment, etc. If « verbs forming their past tense
by change of vowel » are pure English, *catch* is
not French *cachier* and *dig* (probably) French *diguer.*
As regards grammatical inflexions the adoption of
s for the regular formation of the plural may have
been not a little influenced by the French practice.
If numerous suffixes are English, more numerous
still are those of Romance origin and not less
« living. » That most monosyllabic words are English
is a misleading position or it means nothing. For if
it professes to be a guide to the identification of
native words it is a very unsafe one. If it amounts
to saying that there are more monosyllabic words of
English, than of Romance, origin, it is very near the

actual truth, but is of no great import. Lastly the assertion that the most indispensable and familiar terms are for the most part unborrowed is very unsatisfactorily illustrated. For if more words are sometimes mustered in the English column, at other times the Romance column has its turn. If it is so « useful » to be able to distinguish the origin of the words (« interesting » was the more proper word), how is one particularly benefited by learning that *rat, beak, muscle* [1], *flail, dart, grapple*, for instance, are English, only to be told by the N. E. D. that they are French? Why is *deck* cited as being of English origin when it is a later comer than most Romance words in the right hand column, appearing in fact only in the 15th c. and is perhaps a Flemish or Low German loan-word ? All these errors only show how fully naturalized the old Romance element has been, how little of its origin is to be traced in its face. Moreover the author ought in fairness to add that the Saxon vocabulary, which he so carefully sets apart, is perhaps inadequate as an instrument of thought or for high literary purposes.

Saner notions have of late prevailed. Lowell, in his « English Poets », on the subject of.Shakespeare, raised a protest against any prejudiced preference of

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1. We had used a 1893 edition of Morris' English Accidence. In the last edition, dated 1903, *muscle* has disappeared, but the other words mentioned above remain in the Saxon column as if the N. E. D. had never appeared.

one part of the English vocabulary to another. A more adequate appreciation of the indebtedness of English to French and to Latin through French has now become established. « No man that knows History, writes Kington Oliphant [1], can ever be guilty of such unwisdom » as to « drive away from England all words that are not thoroughly Teutonic ». Is it practicable besides ? « In our ordinary talk, says Champneys [2], we could hardly get on without such words as *pay, money, wages, habit, beauty, part* ». And again : « There are hardly any subjects which can be talked or written about without using some French word », for instance, « we should be puzzled now to replace such words as *voice, please, peace, praise,* by native Teutonic words [3]. In the same spirit the New English Dictionary [4] observes of the Anglo French words that they « are now no less « native » and no less important constituents of our vocabulary than the

1. The New English.
2. History of English.
3. And Earle, after distinguishing the three main divisions of English words : namely the first period mainly of native English ; the second mainly from that French inundation which was the sequel of the Norman conquest ; the third mainly due to the educational diffusion of classical literature since the Revival of Letters and the Reformation, remarks that « although the words of the first and second periods are ethnologically distinct and retain each their several colour, yet the mere effect of distance throws these two groups very much together into one mass ».
4. Volume I. Preface.

Teutonic words ». To these wise declarations there is nothing to add.

A clearer idea of the relative numeric proportions of the elements in the language has, at the same time, been formed. Whereas Bosworth thought that the whole English vocabulary amounted to no more than 38.000 words, of which 23.000, or more than five eighths, were of Anglo Saxon origin, Morris takes the actual number of words to be over 100.000, calculating that words of classical origin are about twice as numerous as pure English words and Skeat[1] states that « the number of primary words of native origin *is not much greater* than the number of primary words of Latin origin, and is perhaps even *less* than the number of those of *French* origin. » All these estimations may yet be changed by the results attained by the N. E. D. In five volumes (A to K), that is after entering perhaps half of the whole English vocabulary, the amount of words is 167.234 ! From which, if we defalcate 77.625 obsolete words or foreign words imperfectly naturalized, there is still left a very respectable total of 89.609. By assuming that the proportions will be much the same up to the end of the dictionary, a complete list of 179.000 *current* words may be contemplated. From the frequent remarks of the lexicographers about « the extremely small

1. Principles of English Etymology.

proportion of native English words » in such a
section [1] or that « by far the largest portion nume-
rically of the words is proximately of French
etymology [2] » it may be expected that the impor-
tance of the Romance element will show greater
still [3], while the French ranks are swelled by the
recovery of old recruits from the Latin, Celtic [4],
Scandinavian [5] and even English forces, whither
false attribution had misdirected them.

That the English vocabulary is so overwhelm-
ingly Romance is due to the Norman conquest.
How it came to pass that the speech of the invaders,
after threatening for a time to drown the language
of the natives, left on it such a deep impress, need
not be related here. Both Freeman and the historians
of the language have given of the struggle between
the two tongues, resulting in the final triumph of
the native one, but at the price of heavy losses,
made up for by ungrudging adoptions, fairly accu-
rate accounts. How utterly the face of English
was altered after the long crisis it went through

1. Preface to the letter E.
2. Preface to the section Gradely — Greement.
3. Also Preface to A. A very small proportion of native or
Teutonic words and a very large proportion of words from Latin
(directly or through French).
4. The Celtic element is observed by the N. E. D. to be less
and less important, its numbers dwindling to almost nothing.
5 The Scandinavian influence upon the Northern and Eastern
dialects of English is held by Arnold Wall (Anglia) not to have
been so strong as had been supposed.

is well expressed by Freeman when he says : « Most of us can now read Wace himself more easily than we can read Beowulf ». Strange as this assertion sounds and paradoxical as it is apt to appear, it is no very exaggerated statement of the truth. It amounts to saying that scarcely one word used by the Normans has failed to be naturalized. An experiment tried on a Norman text will serve as an illustration. It is almost only a question of Englishing the relational words.

Britton I. ix (Vol. I, p. 40).

De Tresouns

Tresun est en chescun damage qe hom fet a escient ou procure de fere a cely a qi hom se fet ami. Et poet estre treysoun graunt et petit ; dunt acun demaund jugement de mort, et acun amissioun de membre ou jugement de pillori ou penaunce de prisoun, et aukun plus simple punisement, solum la manere del fet.

Of Treasons

Treson is in any damage which a man does [1] sciently [2] or procures to be done to one to whom he feigns amity. And there may be treson grand and petit (petty) ; of which some demaund jugement of death, and some amission of member or pillory or penaunce of prison, and some more simple punishment according to the maner of the fet [3].

1. *Faire* was Englished as *faiten* only in senses : 1.to act or speak falsely, 2. to deceive; while another *faiten*, from O. F. *faitier*, meant to arrange, construct, fit (N. E. D.).

2. *Scient* exists. *Sciently* is most likely to occur in N. E. D.

3. *fait* or *feat*. an action, deed. By way of *feat* (Law = F. par voie de fait), by violence.

Graunt tresoun est a compasser nostre mort, ou de nous desheriter de noster reaume, ou de fauser noster seal, ou de countrefere nostre monee ou de retoundre. Et si poet hom fere graunt treysoun vers autres persones en moutz des maneres, cum en procuraunt la mort de aukun qi se affiera de luy, sicum est de ceux qi enpoysounent lur seignurs ou autres, et de ceux qi meynent les gentz en tel peril ou il perdent vie ou membre ou chateus.

Grand treson is to compass our death [1] or to desherit us of our realm, or to false our seal, or to counterfeit our money (or coygne) or to clip [2] it. And also may a man commit grand treson against other persons in several manners, as by procuring the death of any one who afies (him in) him ; as is the case with those who empoison their lords or others, and those who lead [3] persons into such perils where they lose [4] life [5] or member or chatels.

Now if it be inquired how many words, out of the 144 contained in the passage, are foreign acquisitions, no more than 45 will be found. So

1. *Mort* would be intelligible though used only in the hunting field. In dialectal use it means « a quantity ».

2 *Diminishing* or clipping, writes Grafton (1568), the better to be understood, it would seem.

3 *Meyn* would be intelligible by a slight effort. It would suffice to think of *demeyn* (demeau).

4. The French *perdre* might be recognized by comparison with *perdu, perdition*.

5. *Vie* is in Bradley's Stratmann with the sense of biography, and *viaunce* (food), etc.

that the percentage of the native element will finally
be 69, whilst that of Gibbon's writings, as given in
Marsh, is only 58. And yet almost only the par-
ticles, articles, demonstratives, pronouns, auxilia-
ries, are native. A writer like Gibbon would per-
haps have replaced the words *do* by *commit, death*
by some latinized circumlocution, and so on. There
is not a word of Latin here. All are much used,
indispensable English terms : *treason, damage,
procure, feign, grand, petty, demand, judgment,
member, pillory, prison, simple, punishment, accor-
ding* to, *feat, manner, compass, disinherit, realm,
false* (so much better than *falsify*), *seal, coun-
terfeit, money, commit, person, several, case, poison,
peril, chattels*. Even *amity*, if less used and expres-
sive than *friendship*, is a delicate synonym and
valuable as so obviously antithetic to *enmity*.
Penance, in its restricted religious sense, is a
useful word and one whose somewhat archaic
sound flatters the ear. *Affy* alone is obsolete,
though its derivative *affiance* is not.

And, lest it should be objected that the above
experiment is unfair, being made on Law-French,
the same test would be applied to another text,
were it not that two fantastic specimens of Latinized
and Frenchified English are fun enough for one
chapter.

Suffice it to give the French text, this time not

even an Anglo-Norman one, underlining the words
that have passed into English.

Aucassin et Nicolete (the first fit).

Qui vauroit *bons vers ouïr*
del *deport*, du *duel caitif*
de *deus biax enfans petis*,
Nicholete et Aucassins,
des *grans paines* qu'il *soufri*
et des *proueces* qu'il *fist*
por s'*amie* o le *cler vis* ?
Dox est li *cans*, *biax* li *dis*
et *cortois* et bien *asis*.
Nus hom n'est si *esbahis*.
tant *dolans* ni *entrepris*
de *grant mal amaladis*,
se il l'*oit*, ne soit *garis*
et de *joie resbaudis*,
        tant par est *douce.*

Verse had been in the language since the O.E.
period. *Disport* (*sport*)*, dole, caitive, infant, petty,
grand, pain, suffer, prowess, clear, chant* (and
perhaps *cant*), *dit* (*ditty*), *courteous, assized,
abashed* (older *abaissed*), *dolent, enterprised* (in
same sense), obs. *guarish* (in Spenser), *joy*, need
no commentary. Of *bon* or *boon* (in *boon* compa-
nion, for instance), *bel, beu, beau, ami, vis, douce*
(still in dialectal use), the N. E. D. will supply
the inquirer with examples. There remain *ouïr*,
for which English can show the Law-term *oyer*

(formerly a Norman infinitive), *deus* adopted as *deuce*, at cards or dice, *faire*, the origin of *faitour*, an impostor, whence, perhaps, the back formation of the obsolete verb *fait*, to cheat, the adjective *male* (in *male* entente, for instance, Halliwell), the substantive *malady*, though no verb like *amaladi*, and lastly the obsolete adjective *baud*, if no verb like *resbaudir*.

This may give an idea of what English owes to French.

The business of identifying every item of the French contribution perplexed. The French words coalesce with, and reinforce, their English cognates

The indebtedness of English to French is not easily ascertained. The question is perplexed by the existence : 1) of French words, occurring in O.E., borrowed before the conquest ; 2) of Latin words in O.E. ; 3) of very numerous Germanic words in French, some from Latin into which they had crept, before the great invasions, through the Barbarians in the Roman legions, others, by far the more numerous, brought in by the Franks and Burgundians — to which must be added a few nautical terms introduced by the Normans.

1) Kluge [1] has shown that a few late O.E.

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1. In Englische Studien.

words which, owing to their date, had been consi-
dered as native or immediately derived from Latin,
were really traceable to French. They are :

Proud, (E. in Skeat) O.E. *prūt*, Icel. *prudr*,
from O.F. *proute*, *proud*, *prod*. See Godefroy s. v.
preu ; cf. mod. E. *prude*.

Bat, (Celtic in Skeat), O.E. *batt*. F. *batte* in
Littré.

Capon, O.E. *capun*, O.N.F. *capun*, O.F. *cha-
poun*.

Castle, O.E. and O.N.F. *castel*.

Cat, (E. in Skeat) O.E. *catt*, O.N.F. *cat*.

Catchpoll, O.E. *Kæcepol*, O.N.F. **cachepol*, cen-
tral F. *chacepol*, literally « chase-fowl ».

(The last four words coming from the Picard
dialect).

Cummin, O.E. *cumin*, from French, not Latin.

False, O.E. *fals*, obviously French.

Juggler, O.E. *geogelere* (in Sweet). O.F. *jo-
gleor*.

Mantle, O.E. *mentel* (in Sweet), not, as Sweet
says, from Latin *mantellum*, but from F. *mantel*.

Market, O.E. *marcet*, *market*, in Sweet, who,
this time, recognizes it for a F. word.

Purse, O.E. *purs*, in Sweet, who pronounces
it adopted from Lat. *bursa*. O.F. *burse*.

Rock, O.E. *roce* (not in Sweet or Bosworth
(1901), but said to be probably Celtic in the errata

and addenda to Skeat's Etym. Dict.). O.F. *roke*, in Littré.

Sot, O.E. *sot(t* ; in Bosworth. Sweet pronounces it French.

Targe, O.E. (in Sweet and Bosworth), O.F. *targe*. So that *target* would be French, not, as Skeat has it, E. with a F. suffix.

Trail, O.E. *traeglian*, pluck, in Sweet, not found in Bosworth, rightly traced to F. *trailler* in Skeat.

Turn, O.E. *turnian*, *tyrnan*. O.F. *turner*, *torner*.

This last word affords us a good instance of how the English philologists were affected when they found one of these loan-terms before the Norman period. Skeat after pronouncing *turn* an adoption from the French is staggered at finding an O.E. *tyrnan* and concludes that the word was at first introduced directly from Latin. Sweet declares *turnian* from French and *tyrnan* from Latin.

2) The following Latin words occurred in O.E. and may have been uninfluenced by their French sister-words brought in by the Normans, though, in many cases, they may have been reinforced by them.

Beet, O.F. *bette*.

Cap, from the same Latin word which gave F. *cappe*, adopted as *cape*.

Cleric, clerec, clerk, the last form coinciding with F. *clerc.*

Cole, (cabbage) O.F. *Chol.*

Crisp, O.F. *crespe.*

Fan, O.F. *van.*

Fennel, O.F. *fenoil.*

Fefer, fever, O.F. *fievre.*

Font (baptismal), O.F. *fonce.*

Linen, flax, O.F. *lin.*

Messe, mœsse, mass, O.F. *messe.*

Mile, O.F. *mile.*

Mortar, O.F. *mortier.*

Munt, mount, O.F. *munt.*

Muscle, mussel (fish), O.F. *mouscle, muscle, moule.*

Must (new wine), O.F. *moust.*

Noon (*nona hora*), O.F *none.*

Nun, O.F. *nunain, nonne.*

Pasch, O.F. *pasque.*

Pear, O.F. *poire.*

Pile, (a large stake), F. *pile* (*pilot, pilotis*).

Pine, O.E. *pin,* a tree. O.F. *pin.*

Plant, O.F. *plante.*

Plaster, O.F. *emplastre.*

Pole, O.E. *pal,* a stake, O.F. *pal* (15th c. in Littré).

Port, a harbour, O.F. *port.*

Post, O.F. *post.*

Prime (canonical hour), O.F. *prime.*

Rose, O.F. *rose*.

School, O.F. *escole*.

Sock (*soccus*), O.F. *Soc, socque* (*sabot*).

Sole (of the foot), O.F. *sole*.

Stole, O.F. *estole*.

Stop, O.F., *estoper, estuper, estouper* (to stop a road or river, in Bozon).

Ton, O.F. *tonne*.

Trout, O.F. *trute, truite*.

Tunic, O.F. *tunique*.

Turtle (dove), O.F. *tourtre*.

Verse, O.F. *vers*.

In the following words it may be seen that the F. cognates coalesced with the L. loan-words already in English :

Angel. O.E. *engel*, witt *g* hard, is influenced by O.F. *angele* with *g* soft. Its 14-15th c. spelling *aungel* shows F. influence.

Anchor. M.E. *ancre* was probably influenced by F. *ancre*.

Candel is occasionally spelt *candelle* in M.E., possibly after French.

Canon (a rule) occurs accented on the last syllable, which shows adoption of F. *canon*.

O.E. *circul* (astronomy), from Latin, meets with M.E. *cercle*, from F. *cercle*, and adopts its form.

Culter (plough-share) may, in its M.E. and Mod. forms, have been influenced by O.F. *coltre, coultre*.

Cup was, in its M.E. forms, influenced by O.F. *cope, cupe, coupe.*

Deacon, O.E. *diacon*, becomes *deken* under the influence of A.F. *dekene* (Boeve de Haumtone. l. 1221).

Fork coalesces with O.N.F. *forque*, some of the E. senses being derived from French.

Offer (offer a sacrifice) has its use extended by coalescence with O.N.F. *offrer*, and the sb. *offer* is French.

Sometimes the F. and E. forms struggled for preeminence with the result of transitory or lasting doublets, as :

Altar, by the side of which a short-lived O.F. *autier, auter*, is adopted about 1300.

Ark lives on side by side with its doublet *arch.*

Cancer sees O.N.F. *cancre* give Mod. *Canker.*

Chervil competes with *cerfoil*, adopted for a time.

May not certain of these so called L. loan-words turn out to be adoptions from French ? This has been the case of *lake* and *paper* formerly traced to Latin but now referred to French by the N.E.D.

3) Among the F. words of Teutonic origin which found cognates ·in the E. language, some may have been uninfluential, or their influence has not been traced till now. Still is it presumable that they reinforced the E. words. Such are :

Can (a vessel), O.F. *canne, quenne* (F. *canette*).
Drink, O.F. *trinquer, drinquer* (12th c.).

> Les troverent assis manjant
> Et enveiséement *drincant* (in Godefroy).

Folk, A.F. *Fouc* (= flock, in Frère Angier),
Dial.F. *flo* (Romdahl. Patois du Val de Saire).
Grip, O.F. *gripper*.
Hasp, O.F. *haspe*.
Haulm, F. *chaume*.
Herring, F. *hareng*.
Hook, F. *ahoc*.
Hulk, O.F. *hulke, hulque, houlque, hurque,
hourque* (Godefroy).
Hose, O.F. *hose*.
Lot (portion), O.F. *lot*.
Mourn, (adj. *murne*, sad, mournful, in M.E.)
A.F. *morne* adj. in Bozon.
Ordeal, O.F. *ordel*. F. *ordalie*.
Otter, F. *loutre*.
Pall, A.F. *paele* in Bozon.
Ring, O.F. *renge, rengue*, (in Aucassin) =
« anneau de l'épée, du bouclier » (Godefroy), pro-
nounced as if spelt *ringue* in the St-Polois dialect.
See Edmont.
Rhyme, F. *rime*.
Rush (the plant), O.F. *rouche*.
Scarf, O.F. *escharpe* (12th c. in Godefroy).
Scot, shot, O.F. *escot*, Mod.F. *écot*.

Scale (shell, shale), A.F. *eschale, escale*, in Bozon.

Shop, O.F. *eschope*.

Spear, A.F. *espier* in Frère Angier.

Spell, O.F. *espeler*.

Stake, A.F. *estache* in Frère Angier, *estaque* in Picard, *estakes* in Bozon.

Stock, O.F. *estoque, estoc*. Boulonnais, St-Polois, *éto*, « souche ».

Storm, A.F. *estormir*, agitate, rouse, in Frère Angier.

Top (of the head), O.F. *toup*.

Ware, A.F. *garir* = protect.

O.E. *Wase*, M.E. *wase, waise*, Mod.E. *ooze*, O.F. **wase* (cf. Godefroy : *wasier*, « lieu vaseux », 1282, in a Normand document, and Du Cange s. v. *vuasilus* : « *Flandricum et Gallicum* Vuasse, *limus* ».

Wimple, O.F. *guimple, wimple, ghimple*, and the O.F. verb *guimpler*.

And that their influence, where it cannot surely be traced, is still presumable, is shown by the following facts, which, dropping all consideration of origin, we will now examine.

Overlooking words which, being cognate, had evolved rather dissimilar forms, as *haïr* and *hate*, *bolzun* (Marie de France) and *bolt* (missile), *walcrer* (go about as a vagrant) and *walk*, A.F. *sigle*, in the same sense as M.E. *siel*, O.E. *sigle*, mod. E. *sail* — and others which bore each other some

resemblance, though, perhaps, as in the case of A.F. *espernir* (Mod.F. *épargner* and E. *spare*), and certainly, as in the case of A.F. *suker* (in Bozon) mod.F. *sucer* and E. *suck*, A.F. *veie* (F. *voie*) and E. *way*, A.F. *vidve* (Bozon) and E. *widow*, they were of different proximate origin ; — we find that many Norman words have coalesced with E. words, either their cognates or not.

Bier, earlier *ber, bare*, seems to have conformed to the F. spelling of *bière*.

Bend (a strip to bind with), has coalesced with O.F. *bende* (F. *bande*).

Board with F. *bord*, certain uses and phrases of *board* being really from French.

Bruise with O.F. *bruiser*, A.F. *bruser* (F. *briser*).

Float with O.F. *floter* (F. *flotter*).

Gall, to make sore by rubbing or chafing, apparently a back-formation from *galled*, itself from *gall*, O.E. *gealla*, a sore on a horse, may have been influenced by O.F. *galler* « to gall, fret, itch ; also to rub, scrape, scrub, claw, scratch where it itcheth. » Cotgrave [1].

Hay, a hedge, is, in its M.E. form, more or less identified with F. *haie*.

Harry coalesces with O.F. *harier* in same sense.

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1. Is it not this O.F. *Galler* that is preserved in the N.F. dialects as *s'eswaler*, « s'échauffer, s'écorcher légèrement » (Edmont), *swalé*, «écorché, etc.» (ibid.), *soilé* (Haigneré), *gal*, «callosité» (Edmont)?

Island, O.E. *igland*, associated with *ile*, *yle*, of F. origin, is, in the 15th c. written *ile-land, island*.

Lap, to lick up, may owe its form *lappe, lap*, instead of the normal *lape*, to the influence of O.F. *laper*.

Lists (for a tournament) may have been used to render O.F. *lisse* (F. *lice*)[1].

Scorch, former *scorcnen, scorclen*, probably of Teutonic origin, seems to have been influenced by O.F. *escorcher* (F. *écorcher*).

As is shown by the last instance, words may coalesce solely because they are somewhat similar in sound, though unlike in sense. This has sometimes brought about an alteration in the meaning of an English word.

Cinder, an erroneous spelling of O.E. *sinder*, scoria, slag of metal, has been influenced in its late sense by F. *cendre*, with which it has no etymological connexion.

Tarry, originally meaning *irritate*, has been influenced, not by its cognate A.F. *tarier* (« gentz... qe par estre *tariez* de grosses paroles ne volent estre vencuz ». Bozon, p. 89), but by O.F. *targier*, M.E. *targen*, delay.

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1. Curiously enough, *liste*, an enclosed ground for tilting, is, in a glossary to the Roman de la Rose, (Croissandeau 1880) referred to English. But see, in Edmont, Lexique St-Polois, *lisse* or *liste*, « bord, limite, lisière, (la lisse du bois)», *lister*, « tenir de liste ; se dit aussi des chiens de berger qui vont et viennent sur la lisière d'un champ... », *liston*, « ruban de soie ».

Thus in the sentence of Gower : « They have him *oultreli* refused », *oultreli* represents F. *oultrement*, no doubt confused or identified with E. *outerly*, *utterly*.

The reverse process sometimes took place. A French adoption like *defoul*, *defoil*, O.F. *défouler*, trample down, deflower, suggesting the native adj. *foul*, takes new senses from this *foul* and even assumes a collateral form *defile* on the analogy of the equivalence of *befoul*, *befile*.

That the native word could not fail to be identified with, and reinforced by, its F. cognate, is shown by the fact that the latter, in many· cases, had its own offspring adopted,

Babble seems earlier than F. *babiller*, but dial. *babelard* is probably after F. *babillard*.

Choose, identified with F. *choisir*, as the form *choise* obviously implies, sees the foreign sb. *choice* enter its family.

Crack is not an adoption of F. *craquer*, but may not *cracklin* be the F. *craquelin*?

Fald, M.E. form of *fold* (for cattle) and A.F. *falde* (in Marie de France) may have run parallel, but *faldage* is as likely to be A.F. *faudage* in Bozon as Law Latin *faldagium* (N.E.D.).

Fuller existed, but the vb. *full* was borrowed.

Hack, existing in E., F. *hacher* was not wanted, though F. *hache* was adopted in spite of the synonymous *axe*, as were also *hatchet* and the adj. *hachy*.

Hard existed in O.E. but *hardy* is imported.

Helm is E. but *helmet* is F.

Lath is O.E. *laett*, but *lattice* is O.F. *lattis*.

Lick is O.E. *liccian*, but *lechour*, *lecherie*, *lecherous*, are French.

Mark, *march*, boundary, is E. but *marquis* F.

Rich is native, but *riches* adopted.

Scum, *skim*, are Scandinavian, but M. E. *scumer*, a rover, pirate, French.

M.E. *wei*, still extant in *well away* (*wei la wei* in Layamon) — O.E. *wà*, mod.E. *woe* — may not have needed the support of O.F. *wai (guai, gwai, wai, wae, vai,* in Godefroy), frequent in Gower : :

> Mais puis tournoit toute sa joie en *way*
>> French Ballads, C. X.

but the derivative of F. *way*, *waimenter*, *(guaimenter)* was adopted as M.E. *waimentin* (in Bradley's Stratmann), which Skeat mistook for a hybrid. These guesses are the more likely as, the moment the Norman cognate had evolved a somewhat different sense, it was adopted :

Baude (gay, sprightly) is ultimately the same word as *bold*.

Flatter, in a figurative sense, is a real doublet of *flatten*, which has preserved its proper meaning (the meaning that F. *flattir* has in Cotgrave).

And, which is even more characteristic, as we have seen the spelling of *choose* occasionally con-

form to that of F. *choisir*, we meet with the creation
of such needless synonymous doublets as *groan* and
groin, *felt* and *fewter*.

Owing to the occurrence of cognate words in
the two languages it is impossible to form an accu-
rate estimate of the F. contribution. We cannot
tell whether such or such a word, instances of
which are recorded in O.E., is the representative
of the older E. word, which might have died away,
or a F. loan-word. Phonetics often afford an effec-
tual test. Yet cases offer where they are helpless.
They leave us to conjectures.

Fresh existed in O.E. as *ferse*. Yet it is *most
likely* that it owes its present form to O.F. *freis*
(fem. *fresche*), — as also some of its senses.

Breach, M.E. *breche*, partly *perhaps* represents
O.E. *bryce*, *brice*, which however gave, in early
M.E., *bruche*, and is partly an adoption of F.
brèche, in same sense, but chiefly concrete. The
obvious relation of *break*, *breach*, as in *speak,
speech*, would tend to make *breche*, *breach*, the
prevailing form.

Is *stamp*, M.E. *stamp*, « pound in a mortar », the
representative of O.E. *stempan* [1], did it coalesce with,

1.+ *Brinie, brynie*, coat of mail, is not the representative of O.E.
byrne, which would have given *byrn*, and has, in fact, given
burne, but, while its M.E. form *brunie* corresponds exactly to the
Norman French form *brunie* (*bruine* in Thomas — Le Roman de
Tristan. ll. 2032, 2054), the phonology of the parallel *brinie, brenie*,
points to the Scandinavian as the original source (N.E.D.).

or is it an adoption of, O.F, *estamper, estampir, stam-per*, « broyer comme dans un mortier », as in « une onches de cinnamonde avec unes cloches de gingem-bre... bien *estampé* ensemble » in Godefroy, which would have been Englished as *stamp* ? Strangely enough F. *estamper* was adopted, perhaps for the second time, as *estamp,* in the 16th c. (See N.E.D. s. v. estamp.)

When there is no trace of a word in Old English and we find a French cognate semantically connected, though the phonetics are not a guide or even seem to preclude a possible derivation, there is still the presumption that French is the likely source, seeing that English, even when having already a term for a thing, nevertheless adopted a French synonym, as *beef* where *ox* existed, *Pick* appears in Middle English — for O.E. *pycan,* which Skeat had on doubtful authority, is not to be found in Sweet. Its meaning in the sentence « to *piken* it and to weden it » (in Bradley's Stratmann) is the same as that of O.F. *piquier* in « *piquier* et houer » (in Godefroy). Yet we should expect to find it represented by an E. *pike*. But has not F. *figue* given E. *fig* ?

In no case is a F. word to be overlooked, when we see English borrow so freely, even quite needless doublets. One characteristic example can hardly fail to be convincing. One would assume that a word like F. *forjurer*, meeting, curiously enough, with such an exact counterpart as E. *forswear,* which, but for its

occurrence in Old English, one were ready to pro-
nounce an adaptation of the F. word, would preclude
the introduction of a needless *abjure*. Far from it,
and *forjure* itself must have been adopted !

May it not be safely surmised that all the vocabu-
lary of the Anglo-Norman or Anglo-French texts
deserves consideration ?

The French loan-words more numerous than has hitherto been realized. — Their share in after-creations. — Their fecundity and other merits.

Thus French pours in in the wake of the Norman conquest. It paves the way for further and constant invasion. Ever since the great infusion of French words into the English vocabulary, the form of French words did not look strange in English and they were easily naturalized. It made it easy to go on borrowing from Parisian or Central French. In a country where not only aliens, but also natives, wrote French, as Bozon and others, it is no wonder

if a huge literature of translations or imitations from an admired language and literature arose. Layamon's Brut is imitated from the *Brut* of Wace, written in the dialect of Normandy, the Ayenbite of Inwyt, written by Dan Michel of Northgate in 1340, is chiefly taken from *La somme des Vices et des Vertus* by a Dominican friar, Lorens ; a considerable portion of the Persones Tale is imitated from the same source, etc. Chaucer, a great student of the poetry of France, translated the *Roman de la Rose*, though the existing fragments of these poems probably form no part of his translation ; Lydgate translated the Falls of Princes, not from Boccaccio, but from a French version made by Laurent de Premierfait ; Caxton translated *Le Recueil des Histoires de Troye* by Raoul le Fevre (1464) and Reynard the Fox ; later on came the so important, from all points of view, translations of Froissart, Amyot, Rabelais, Montaigne. If a few nonce-words, created by the translators, were but short-lived, as that « compiss » of Urquhart whose solitary instance occurs in the N.E.D., how many other French words thus found their way into the English vocabulary.

But French opens up another source of wealth, Latin. And this perplexes the task of the lexicographer in his attempt to trace a word to its immediate origin. The English had easily caught the trick of deriving words from the Latin on the pattern supplied them by the French words. That they did so is ascer-

tained by the occurrence in English of words wanting in French at the same date, or still now. Such a word as *inveigh*, having no correspondent in French, must have been derived directly from Latin *invehere* and put into a French shape on the analogy of *convey*, *conveigh*, from O.F. *conveier* [1]. But the problem is not always so simple. If it is very likely that M.E. *diluvy* [2] is an English derivation as it is not formed on the principles of « learned » French formation, while *diluve*, which appears in Chaucer by the side of *deluge*, is French, nothing shows whether *nomination*, for instance, is directly derived from Latin on the pattern of *nation* or is borrowed from French. The presumption, in our opinion, and this is the view entertained by the N.E.D., is that, whenever the French word is earlier, English adopted it. And thus Dr. Murray refers to French numerous English words which were, by Skeat, given as proximate derivatives from Latin. The following list will show how the contribution of French to English is thus numerically increased.

1. But we shall see that the verb had been rendered necessary in English by the adoption of F. *invective*.

2. Even that *y* added to words that may have an *e* mute in French, or even no mute syllable, and which is a presumption that the English word is derived from Latin, what shall we say when we find it suffixed to such a word as *larceny*. There is no denying that this is the representative of F. *larcin*. The etymology in N. E. D. is prudent, but the guess is, to say the least, amusing: « apparently from a F. *larcin* (see larcin) + y, perh. with a recollection of L. *latrocinium.* » We should perhaps prefer conjecturing A.F. *larcenie* (like *matrimoine* and *matrimonie*).

A LIST OF WORDS TRACED TO LATIN OR GREEK BY SKEAT, TO FRENCH BY THE N.E.D.

adopt
adore
adorn
advent
adverb
advert
advocate (avoket)
affect
afflict
alabaster
allocation
alp
alter
amaranth
ammunition
anachronism
analyze
aneroid
annul
antecedent
antelope
anther
apathy
aphorism
apogee
apoplexy
apothecary
apprehend
aquatic
arrogant
arsenic
ascribe (ascrive)

asphalt
asphyxy
assess
assonant
astonish
astound
astrology
astronomy
atheism
atom
atrophy
attest
attic (an)
author
autocrat
autumn
avert
axiom
azote
baluster
blaspheme
cacophony
cadaverous
calendar
captive
carbuncle
casement (Med. L. ? in Skeat)
cataclysm
cataract
catarrh
catholic
cedar

celibate
cell
cere (to)
cerebral
character
chart
chemist
chord
circumcise
circumstance
civil
cohabit
coincide
collusion
column
combine
commodious
compel
compendious
compound
compress
compute
concave
conceal
condemn
condiment
conger
congestion
conglobe
consequent
consort, sb.
contravene
contrite
convert
convoke
coronation
coroner
coulter

crescent
cucumber ✓
cynosure
decapitate
decrepit
decretal
deglutition
delegate
dent, sb.
dentifrice
dentist
depress
deprive
desuetude
detraction
diabolic
diatribe
differ
disparity
disperse
dispossess
doctor
dominion
duration
dynamic
dynasty
dysentery
edition
effigy
element
endogen
epidemic
equanimity
etymology
eucharist
euphony
evanescent
evasion

event
evoke
excrement
exhume
exist
explicit
extradition
exult
facilitate (after facilite) .
farm
ferment
floscule
font
fortitude
frangible
full, vb.
funeral
glut
grampus
halo
hamper
haste
heteroclite
histrion
holocaust
homily
hoopoe (a bird)
horror
hydrogen
iambic
ideal
incense, vb.
indent (Law Latin in Skeat)
infant

inquire
insufficient
insurrection
intense
inter-, prefix, taken into M.E.
    as entre-, enter-
interdict
intuition
intrusion
inveigle (L. ? in Skeat)
July
June
lake
land
lectern (Low L. in Skeat)
legacy
levity
libel
. . . .
omnibus
optimism
ostensible
oxide
oxygen
ozone
pact
panegyric
panic
paper
paraclete
parallax
pard
parget (L. ? in Skeat)
quiet [1]

1. It is very likely that *margarite*, an adoption from Latin in Bradley's Stratmann, will be derived, by Dr. Murray, from F. *margarite* in Godefroy. The syncopated form *margrite*, in the Romance of Alexander, looks French.

We have carefully kept from this list all words the derivation of which is stated as doubtful in the N.E.D., such as

apology	direct, adj.
appal (Latin and Celtic in Skeat)	erroneous
arid	flavour (Low L. in Skeat)
armament	grate (Low L. in Skeat)
aspect	indiscreet
astute	influx
cap (Low. L. in Skeat)	intone (Low L. in Skeat)
cant	lint
concede	lenity
conflict	obscene
congener	opprobrious
congrue	rancid

All these, according to the N.E.D,. leave a doubt whether they are not from French. It may also be the case for *adult* (so Skeat thinks) and *adust* (not in Skeat).

This list, necessarily incomplete till the completion of the N.E.D., ought to be added to the already so numerous list of « French from Latin » given in Skeat's « Distribution of Words ».

It is true that the reverse also takes place. Words marked by Skeat as immediately borrowed from French are described by the N.E.D. as Latin loanwords. But, besides that their amount is far lesser, the question deserves consideration.

FRENCH IN SKEAT; LATIN IN THE N.E.D.

hydraulic (L.)
hymn (existed before)
ignition (Med. or Mod. L.)
illation (Late L.)
immediate (Med. L.)
immemorial (id.)
immodest (L.)
immoral (im + moral)
immunity (L.)
impenitent
imperative
incredible
infelicity
infer
inferior
infirmity
infrangible
inscrutable
insert
insidious
insincere
insipid
insist
insolent
install
intellect
invade
inverse

irony
lazar (Med. L.)
legible
lethargy
libation
licentious (Med. L.)
object
obtuse
occasion
occult
occur
oleander (Med. L,)
opal
opaque
oppugn
opulent
oration
orb
organ (in O. E. — F. form adopted)
ovation
quarantine
quarry (of stones) Med. L.
quinsy (Med. L)
quotient
palate
palpable (Late L.)

But, as we hinted before, many more words; no doubt, which are treated as adoptions from the Latin, would be traced immediately to French but for the lack of information as to their earliest occurrence in

the latter language. In numerous instances Dr. Murray, for want of finding a word recorded in French previous to its adoption into English, has been fain to refer it to Latin though he often expresses his conviction that French must have been the medium. More recent French-researches verify his conjectures. When he meets with a word like the adj. *amene* (*amen, ameyn*), Latin *amœnum*, the morphology suggests to him the adoption of a French*amène, which he conjectures, adducing, for his sole authority, the adverb *amènement* in Godefroy. The date of E. *amene* is about 1400. F. *amène* occurs in Jean Le Maire de Belges, 15th c.

Amenity (*amenite*, 1432-50) occurs in a F. shape. Yet, finding it no earlier than in Cotgrave (1611) the lexicographer must be content to write : «? an adoption of F. *amenité* or perhaps of Latin *amœnitatem.* » The F. word has been traced by Delboulle to the 15th c.

Agriculture (1603) *perhaps* came through F. (17th c. in Littré) The date in Delboulle is 16th c.

Association is Latin, according to N.E.D. Cf. mod. F. *association,* perhaps the immediate source. It is dated 1535 in N.E.D.; there is not one instance in Littré ; Delboulle has found it in the 15th c.

Coeternal (1398) points to a F. *coéternel,* as *coetern(e* (about 1374) is L. *co-ætern-us.* But the earliest instance in Littré is much later (15th c.) An instance of the 12th c. is in Delboulle.

Commixtion (1387) is an adoption from Latin or

French (15th c. in Littré). It has been traced to the 13th c. by Delboulle.

Dr. Murray feels no hesitation before *ceraste* (1572) though he has no other authority than the occurrence of the word in Cotgrave (1611). But by its side he finds *cerastes* (1398) an adoption of the Latin word in its original form as has been the frequent English practice down to our days. *Ceraste* is a 13th c. word in Delboulle.

Compassment (1292) makes no difficulty. Though there is no instance of it in Littré, it can be no other than French. Delboulle finds it in the 13th c.

So that is appears (a somewhat paradoxical assertion) that English may be consulted as a source of information with respect to the date, or even the unrecorded existence, of a French word of learned formation. For instance :

Condiment. Littré has only a 16th c. instance of the word. Its occurrence in English about 1420 might have put us on the scent of an earlier existence. In fact, Delboulle has traced it to the 14th c., Godefroy to the 13th.

Confabulation occurs in English about 1450. It was dated 16th c. in Delboulle. Hatzfeld has now traced it to the 15th c.

Defloration, recorded in the N.E.D. as early as 1387 in the form *defloracioun* suggesting derivation from French, was dated 16th c. in Littré. Delboulle

then found it in the 15th c. It is now dated 14th c. in Hatzfeld.

Degradation, about 1535 in N.E.D., has been traced successively to 16th c. by Littré, 15th by Delboulle, 14th by Hatzfeld.

Deifique, 15th c. in the N.E.D., no quotation in Littré, is dated 15th c. in Delboulle and 14th in Hatzfeld.

The F. originals of the following words must be older than has as yet been established :

Concile, 1398 in N.E.D., speaks of a F. *concilier* earlier than the end of the 15th c., the date of the first instance of it in Godefroy's Complement.

Crassitude, about 1420 in English, would remain to be traced to a date earlier than the second half of the 16th c. (the date in Godefroy).

Deliber, in Chaucer, about 1374, points to the existence of a F. *délibérer* before the date 1445 in Hatzfeld.

Has the word *confrontement* been French? There is no mention of such a word in Littré. Dr. Murray has been obliged to explain it as an E. formation : confront + ment. It was an actual F. word. Delboulle found it in Etienne Pasquier — so that its date (16th c.) is earlier than that (1604) of the first instance in N.E.D.

With the beginning of letter D, Dr. Murray finds a safer guide in Hatzfeld. Thus *Defloration,* 1387 in N.E.D., 16th c., in Littré, 15th in Delboulle, but 14th

in Hatzfeld, is now more confidently referred to
French, to which the 14th and 15th c. form *deflora-
cioun* unmistakeably points.

Of the two difficulties Dr. Murray found in identi-
fying the word *casket*, the first instance of which
is dated 1467, one, the occurrence of F. *cassette*
no earlier than in the 16th c. in Littré, would be
removed by an instance of 1348 adduced by Del-
boulle.

But before letter D, many words had been referred
to Latin by Dr. Murray which now, no doubt, seeing
that they had all (and that sometimes long) been in
existence as French words, he would treat as adop-
tions from the French. Such are :

	in N.E.D.		
abbreviator	16th c.	no history in Littré	15th c. in Delboulle
atheize	17th c.	not in Littré	16th c. —
celebration	16th c.	no history in Littré	12th c. —
concept	16th c.	16th c. in Littré	15th c. —
conjugation	16th c.	16th c. in Littré	13th c. -
cordiality	17th c.	16th c. in Oudin	15th c. —
corpuscule	17th c.	no history in Littré	16th c. —
crucifixion	17th c.	no history in Littré	16th c. —

And even *conculcate* (16th c.) may be after F, *con-
culquer*, 16th c. in Delboulle, as also *divagate* (1599)
after F. *divaguer* in Montaigne and Postel (République
des Turcs.)

In many cases the lexicographer, feeling unable
to pronounce whether the word is to be traced to

Latin or to French, indicates the ultimate Latin source and mentions what may be only a French cognate. Of this we shall here give a few instances :

Delude (about 1450) [ad. L.... Cf. rare obs. F. *deluder*, 1402 in Godefroy.]

Dement (1545) [ad. L.... Cf. O.F. *démenter*, Godefroy.]

Dense (1599) [ad. L.... Cf. F. *dense* (Paré, 16th c., in 13th c. *dempse*) perhaps the immediate source of the Eng.]

Dereliction (about 1612) [ad. L.... Cf. obs. F. (16th c.) *dereliction* (Godefroy).]

Deter (1579) [ad. L.... Cf. rare O.F. *deterrer*, in Godefroy, which does not appear to have influenced the English word.]

Deterge (1623) [ad. L....: perhaps after F. *déterger* (Paré 16th c., not in Cotgrave).]

Detract (about 1449) [ad. L.... Cf. F. *détracter* (1530 in Hatzfeld).]

Digest (about 1450) [ad. L.... Cf. O.F. *digester* (15th c. in Godefroy).]

Disseminate (1603) [from L.... ; cf. F. *disséminer* 14th c. in Littré).]

Dissent (about 1425) [ad. L....; cf. F. *dissentir* (15th c. in Hatzfeld).]

Dissipate (about 1534) [from L....; cf. F. *dissiper* (14th c.).]

Elate, a. [ad. L.... Cf. O.F. *elat* proud] though here

the fact stares you in the face that the 14th c. forms, *elaat, elat,* and the occurrence of the word in Chaucer, be it *elaat, elat(e* or *elayt,* point to French as the immediate source.

Flagitious. Also 14-16th c. *flagicious(e* [ad. O.F. *flagicieux, flagitieux,* or L.]

Let us examine the case of *dement.* The wonder is that it does not turn up earlier than 1545 and in the intransitive sense which it commonly bears in O.F., Norman and A.F. writers, viz. to lament frantically, to rave, to be distressed, to be as one mad (Marie de France, 8, 17. Vie de St Gile, 125, etc.). Can it be that such an expressive word had left no traces, that it had died out all? The occurrence of *dement* in the Scottish dialect seems to be against it.

One more case we will examine. Both *extravagate* and *extravage* Dr. Murray derives from Latin with a « cf. F. *extravaguer* ». He lapses into an inexactitude when he states that the F. verb is used only in the figurative sense. The historical instances in Littré afford only illustrations of the proper meaning. « Il fault la garder [la vue] d'extravaguer ny çà ny là hors les ornières que l'usage et les loix luy tracent, MON-TAIGNE. — Doris est assez coustumier d'extravaguer hors de la vérité, AMYOT. *Périclès.* — J'en ferais forces contes, mais je m'extravaguerais trop de mon sujet, BRANTÔME.» In all these the meaning obviously is « stray, wander away from » and is precisely the same as in the first instance of the N.E.D. **1600** ABP.

ABBOTT. I love not to extravagate from my text. As the word is in Amyot [1], we might expect to have quotations of E. *extravagate* earlier than 1600, namely from North (1579). And if it is, as is very likely, used by the translator, which we are without the means of ascertaining, ought not the English word in fairness to be described at least as modelled on the French one ? But there is what appears to us a more forcible argument in favour of the antiquity and influence of the French word ; it is the existence of the English dialectal *stravaig* to wander about aimlessly, stroll, saunter, which is most likely to have been an early adoption of an O.F. *estravaguer*.

A valuable source of information seems to have been neglected by Dr. Murray : we mean the great translations from the French :

Lord Berners' Froissart, 1523.

Norton's Calvin's Institution, 1561.

North's Plutarch (from the French of Amyot), 1579.

Florio's Montaigne, 1634.

Urquhart's Rabelais, 1653-1673, and Motteux' Rabelais, 1708.

And even Holland's Plutarch's Morals (1600), done, it is true, from the Greek, but, as the title states it, « conferred with Latin and French ».

Had they been carefully consulted, the earliest

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[1]. It is, moreover, recorded in F. at an earlier date than Amyot's first edition, 1559, being in Robert Estienne, Dictionnaire, 1539.

instances of many words might have been found in them, which thus had been traced to French, instead of to Latin.

Under *affronter* the lexicographer would not have been content to say : « cf mod. F. *affronteur* », when the E. word is first used by Florio, the translator of Montaigne, where the word is in Book IV. ch. V.

Apostolate, dated 1642, is referred to Latin. Now the word is in Calvin and not only is it probable that it was borrowed from French, but that it appeared in English earlier than the instance given by the N.E.D. implies, viz. in Norton's translation, 1561.

Aquiline, adopted from Latin, according to Dr. Murray, the quotation from Blount's *Glossogr*, being dated 1656, is in Amyot, and must, in all likelihood, have been preserved by his translator, 1579. It is also in Rabelais.

Ataraxy is referred to Greek, when the earliest quotation is from Florio's Montaigne.

Calciner is accounted as an English formation, when precisely the only instance adduced is from Motteux who renders Rabelais' « calcineur de cendres » by « calciner of ashes. »

Depravation is traced to Latin and compared to the French word (16th c. in Littré). But the fact that the first instance given is from Norton's translation of Calvin's Institution raises a doubt whether it is not an adoption of the word in the original.

Disseminate is marked as from Latin. It occurs

for the first time in Holland's Plutarch's Morals. Had not Amyot used it ?

At the same time that English was adopting the learned words fashioned in France or coining them on the same principles, it was also doing what was being done in France, bringing existing words nearer in form to their Latin originals. The process of Latinizing French loan-words in English began early. Sometines it corresponds to a parallel Latinisation in French :

Adultery (*adultère* in 14th c. French), about 1425 in Wyntoun, replaces earlier *avoutrie*. Were not its history known, we should trace it directly to Latin.

Equality (F. *équalité*), about 1400 in English, supersedes earlier *egality*, about 1374 in Chaucer, (F. *égalité*).

Sometimes the Latinisation is due to English initiative [1].

M.E. *feverer* (O.F. *feverier*), *feverel* (as *laurel* for *laurer* : F. *laurier*) is refashioned as *february* as early as 1398 in Trevisa. It is, however, noticeable that *feverel* still occurs in the 16th c. (1557 in Tusser).

Jeniver, Jenever (O.N.F. *Jenever*), gradually conforms to the Latin. It is already spelt *Januarie* in Chaucer's Merchant's Tale. In O.E. it had occurred as *Januarius* (about 1000).

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[1]. In this line of Gower's French Ballads the A.F. *decresser* returns to its Latin spelling : « ma dolour monte et ma joie *descresce* ». F. Ball. A. XX.

Enquere ~~progressively~~ becomes *inquire* (about 1440).

Mobles (thynges mobill or in-mobill, in Hampole, about 1340 — *moble* standing for furniture in Layamon) become *mevable* goods about 1430 in the Babies' Book.

Paen or *paynim* yields to *pagayn* (pagan) in Chaucer.

Purveit is thrown aside for the Latin form « *provided* that » in Gregory's Chronicle (first quarter of 15th c.)

Receit and *recept* are used simultaneously in the Rolls of Parliament for 1422, whence modern *receipt* with the *p* not sounded.

Straitly is displaced by *strictly* in the « Plumpton Letters » 1485-1500.

Traitour has eventually held its own against *traditour* (in the « History of the Earls of Kildare », beginning of 16th c.).

All attempts at Latinisation were not equally successful. Some strange forms were shaped, mere abortions, still-born growths, such as, in Bishop Fisher, 1509, that « *studyent* », noticed by Kington Oliphant as half French, half Latin, and that « curious jumble of French and Latin », *dissymbelatyown*, in Wyntoun, about 1420, pointed out by the same author.

This reformation obscures the derivation of many words. Skeat refers to Latin *equal* (while mentioning

M.E. *egal*), *February*, *January*, *inquire*, (afterwards adding, it is true, that the spelling is Latin, but the origin French), *pagan* (while mentioning M.E. *paien*). Only the history of the word can establish its French filiation.

Some of these products seem new. In some cases they may be so, their former derivatives having died away.

How these refashioned words may seem fresh adoptions will be shown by the following French example :

Infect is noted as a learned derivative of the 16th c. in Petit de Julleville. But an earlier *infaire*, *enfaire*, had lived. Its past participle was *infaict*, *infait*, *infet*, *enfait*, M.E. *enfcit*. As early as the 14th c., in Oresme, this past participle had been refashioned as *infect*, which is the form we find in Chaucer. The occurrence of *infecter* in French and *infect*, verb, in English, was thus to be expected.

Thus in English many words apparently derived directly from Latin are nothing but old French words dressed in a Latin garb. We shall witness this process at work especially in the case of verbs.

English had started a derivation of its own which it used in adopting words both directly from Latin and indirectly through French. How it became established the very fine articles treating of the suffix *-ate* in the N.E.D. very clearly show. Those French popular words, *curé*, *avoué*, *péché*, had been suc-

ceeded by learned formations. *estat, prelat, magistrat*, which passed into English, originally in their French forms, but soon to take a final *e*, that the long sound of the vowel might be marked. On the other hand, some French past participles as *confus :—confusus, content : — contentus, divers : — diversus*, had supplied the French an analogy for the introduction of new words from Latin, as *direct : — directus, complet : —, completus*, and both classes of words, the popular and the learned ones, passing into English, provided English in its turn with analogies for adopting similar words from Latin. Nouns and adjectives came in first. Verbs followed as a matter of course and by the simple process familiar to English. As the substantive *milk* gives the verb *to milk*, the adjective *glad* the verb *to glad*, the adjective *separate* gave the verb *to separate* (which in its turn produced the past participle *separated*). This once done, it became the recognized method of Englishing a Latin verb. And, as it was the time when the French words which were obviously derived from Latin were being brought nearer to Latin in spelling, *parfit* being refashioned as *perfect*, *delitable* as *delectable* (France here also setting the example), the French verb *console* was remodelled as *consolate*, direct adoptions from Latin were made on this principle and adoptions of F. verbs were made under this disguise. So that because *invalidate*, *isolate* (compare *insulate*),

felicitate, differentiate, detonate, offer themselves in a garb unknown to F. words, we must not pronounce, at first sight, that they are Latin loan-words. The fact is that they are analogical formations from the F. verbs *invalider, isoler, féliciter, différencier, détoner*.

· This is well known to lexicographers. Yet they are apt to forget it or, at least, for want of tracing the history of a word carefully, they miss its actual origin. The vb. *opinionate* is, by the N.E.D. referred to a mediæval Latin unrecorded **opinionari*. The facts seem to be quite different and more simple. The adj. *opinioned* (from O.F. *opinionné*) is dressed anew as *opinionate*, whence is derived the vb. *opinionate*, perhaps in imitation of O.F. *opinionner*, which is the source of mod. *opinionated*.

You see, in the following list, verbs conform to this new standard, casting their former French or French-like forms. Many of them are really old-adopted French verbs, some of which were probably growing obsolete. Though their identity has thus been obscured, they may have been at least saved from total eclipse.

abbreviate supersedes earlier *abbrevye*, mid. F. *abrévier* (while *abridge* survives)

abrogate	—	*abroge*, F. *abroger*
adumbrate	—	*adumber*, M.F. *adumbrer*, O.F. *aümbrer*
aggravate	—	*aggrege*, O.F. *agreger* (while *aggrieve* is preserved)

alleviate supersedes earlier	*allege* O. F. *aléger* [1]
annihilate	—	*annihil*, F. *annihiler, anichiler*
appropriate	—	*appropre, approprie,*O.F.*aproprier*
arbitrate	—	*arbitre*, F. *arbitrer*
asperse (cf. *aspersé* in Cot-		
grave)	—	*asperge*, F. *asperger*
assimilate	—	*assimile*. F. *assimiler*
associate	—	*associe*, O.F. *associer*
attract	—	*attray*, F. *attraire*
attribute	—	*attribue*, F. *attribuer*
compensate	—	*compense*, O.F. *compenser*
conciliate	—	*concile*, ? F. *concilier* [2]
conduct [3]	—	*condue, condye,* O.F. *conduire, condire*
confabulate	—	*confable*, ? F. *confabuler*
confederate	—	*confeder*, F. *confédérer*
confiscate	—	*confisk*, O.F. *confisquer*
connect	—	*connex*, O.F. *connexer*
consolidate	—	*consolid*, F. *consolider*
constitute (Caxton)	—	*constitue* (Caxton), F. *constituer*
contemplate	—	*contemple*, F. *contempler*
convocate	—	*convoke*, F. *convoquer*
corrupt	—	*corrump*, O.F. *corompre, cor-rumpre*
cultivate	—	*cultive*, F. *cultiver*
deliberate	—	*deliber*, ? F *délibérer* [4]
depict	—	*depaint*, F. *dépeindre*
devastate	—	*devast*, F. *dévaster*
devote	—	*devow*, F. *dévouer*
diffuse	—	*diffund*, O.F. *diffondre*
distribute (Caxton)	—	*distribue* (Caxton), F. *distribuer*

1. Also *alleve*, O.F. *alever*, L. *allevare*, in same sense, viz. *alleviate*.

2. It has been seen before that the F. verb has not been traced so early as E. *concile* (1398).

3. 5 forms : 1. *condue, condye*; 2. *cond* ? *con* (a ship); 3. *conduce*; 4. *conduyte*; 5. *conduct*.

4. Doubtful for the same reason mentioned as regards *concile*.

elongate supersedes earlier		*eloign, eloin,* O.F. *esloigner*
emanate	—	*emane,* F. *émaner*
enervate	—	*enerve,* F. *énerver*
enumerate	—	*enumber,* O.F. *enumbrer*
evacuate	—	*evacue,* F. *évacuer*
evaporate	—	*evapour,* F. *évaporer*
exaggerate	—	*exagger,* ? 16th c. F. *exaggérer*
exasperate	—	*exasper,* ? F. *exaspérer*
excommunicate	—	*excommune,* F. *excommunier*
exhibit	—	*exhibe,* F. *exhiber*
exonerate	—	*exoner,* F. *exonérer*
extenuate	–	*extenue,* ? F. *exténuer*
. . . .	—	. . . .
facilitate	—	*facilite,* F. *faciliter*
frustrate	—	*fruster,* F. *frustrer*
illustrate	—	*illustre,* F. *illustrer*
imbreviate	—	*embreve,* O.F. *embrevier*
inculpate	—	*inculp,* ? F. *inculper*
indoctrinate	—	*indoctrine,.* M.E. *endoctrine,* F *endoctriner,*
induct	—	*indue, endue,* O.F. *enduire*
insert	—	*insere,* F. *insérer*
inundate	—	*inund,* ? F. *inonder*
salute	—	*salue,* F. *saluer*

Unerring as the process seems, which is illustrated by so many instances, it does not go without some wavering. You detect the old method of derivation and the new one working side by side in *congratulate* and *congratule,* which are coeval. Some writers must have been loath to employ those rather cumbrous words in *-ate.* So we find *fabricate* dated 1598 and *fabric* appearing in 1623, *deteriorate* in the 16th c. and *deterior* in the 17th. As late as the present

century *formule* Englishes F. *formuler* in 1852, but is soon reduced to the consecrated type as *formulate* (1860).

The process of reformation is not applied with consistency. An earlier *commise*, formed on the L. past participle, is displaced by *commit* (while *dismiss* follows the rule); *concluse* is supplanted by *conclude ;* *comprehend* (earlier *comprend*) is created by the side of *comprise ; conduce, induce,* by the side of *conduct, induct. Describe,* for earlier *descrive,* ought to have been *descript. Indorse, endorse,* is only a pedantic correction of *endoss.* If the English had been copying Latin models, there would have been no hesitation. *Imbue* would have been *imbute,* and *dismiss, dimiss.* But they were all the time translating French writings. In them they find the past participle *imbu,* answering to the Latin *imbutus,* and render it by *imbued,* whence the verb. In the same way *dismissed* is first used by Caxton to render the O.F. participle *desmis,* whence the verb. At the same time F. *desmettre* (the same verb) gives rise to *dismetle,* afterwards *dismit.* But O.F. *desmettre* becomes Mod. F. *démettre.* It is, in its turn, adopted as *demit,* in the sense of « send away », L. *dimittere,* distinct from *demit,* L. *demittere,* to lower. Then the etymologically more regular *dimit, dimiss,* put in their claim. But legitimacy was eventually ousted by the stubborn bastards. The mongrels *dismit* and *dismiss* have proved the hardier. Even the ambiguous *demit,*

of disputable utility, preserved in that universal depository of French-descended words, Scotch, as appears in this typical example from Carlyle : « Poor Longchamp, *demitted*, or rather dismissed, from Voltaire's service », has found employment in expressing « to resign ».

The changes are not all for the best. *Fruster* was better than *frustrate*. *Excommune* was simpler and less cumbrous than *excommunicate*. Who would recall *consolate, combinate, continuate* and *inspirate?* The same may be said of other words than verbs. There might be regret felt for the loss of *administrer ; administrator* is lengthy. The French *administrateur* is no better. *Arbitrator*, not having displaced *arbiter*, is a gain, as is *fact*, by the side of *feat*. But are *fallacy, coutumacy, efficacy, confidence, credible, dentated,* preferable to *fallace, contumace, efficace, confiance, creable, dented?* And *caducous, contemporaneous, contiguous, continuous, fortuitous, frivolous, illustrious,* do they not appear overdressed when compared to the more sober *caduce* (or *caduke*), *contemporane, contigue, continue, fortuit, frivol, illustre ?* *Assidual* (F. *assiduel*) sounds more harmonious than hissing *assiduous*. Not to speak of the inartistic process of borrowing Latin words in their original garb, a process which has always arrided the English and still prevails, and has given *asylum, automaton, cæsura, chimera, hyena, manna, farago, analysis, opprobrium,* all with endings quite foreign to modern

native words, when *asyle* (Wyclef), *automate, cesure, chimere, hiene, manne, farrage, analyse, opprobre,* were handy [1]. But our business is not with these regrets [2]. What concerns us is to claim for French the introduction of all these words into the English vocabulary, a fact obscured by their Latin disguise.

If we look into the N.E.D. for the origin of a verb like *digress,* we cannot expect to find it other than Latin, and that for a good reason : no such verb has existed in French. This will well illustrate a particularity of the English tongue. It has always been more thorough-going than its French neighbour, Having borrowed the substantive *digression* (c. 1374 in Chaucer), it could not miss the corresponding verb. *Digress* must come in time, while the French never dared to venture beyond a timid and cumbrous circumlocution « faire une digression », till, at length, in our days, they made so bold as to create *digresser.* So the introduction of one French word into English is productive of a whole family of words. Not only did French facilitate direct Latin derivation, by supplying numerous models, but it makes it, in a great many instances, as if unavoidable.

1. We find *formula* (1581) and *formule* (1877), *anatheme* coeval with *anathema, ophthalmy* with *ophthalmia.*
2. Puttenham was of our opinion. He protested against the Latin words that had supplanted their French offspring, as *innumerable* for *innombrable.* Later on the French *clar obscur,* which might have at once been Englished as *clear-obscure,* must, with Arbuthnot, assume its Italian form !

Thus in English :

Abduction cannot go without	*abduce* or *abduct*
Aberration	—	*aberr* or *aberrate*
Depredation	—	*depredate*
Indulgence, indulgent —	*indulge* (17th c.)
Intrusion	—	*intrude*
Invective	—	*inveigh*
Investigation	—	*investigate*
Elation (in F. Angier) —	*elate*, verb.
Opprobre (Caxton)	—	*opprobriate*, verb.

Can it be said that the English, in drawing so unreservedly on the Latin fund laid open to them by the French, were ill-advised, when it has enriched them with such useful and expressive words as the verbs *indulge* and *intrude,* making for brevity, where the timorous French must recur to a periphrasis ? [1] All is not so bad that comes from Latin, after all.

It is not only at the expense of the Latin contribution that the French element is enlarging, it is recovering its own to the detriment of all the other foreign contingents.

All students of history, political and literary, might have suspected that French had been the universal medium through which words from all parts reached England.

It has been the vehicle of more Italian and Spanish words than Skeat, for instance, realized.

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[1]. French had a verb *intruire.* It has been suffered to die away like so many fine old words.

To French, not to Italian, are to be traced : *attitude, bombast, caricature, catacomb, duel, falchion, isolate, Levant, quartette* [1].

To French, not to Spanish are now referred *calabash, chocolate, cochineel, comrade, clove, courtisan, domino, dulcimer, filigree, galliard, guy* (guyrope). *jade* (the mineral), and perhaps *gaberdine*.

Azimuth and *azure* are no longer traced directly to Arabic ; *caravan* and *jasmine* to Persian ; *cinnamon* to Hebrew ; *damask*, a proper name in Skeat, is French.

Celtic had long been credited with having originated many words of obscure etymology. These words were pronounced Celtic for no other reason than that they were in use among the populations of Scotland, Ireland or Wales. They were no aborigenes. The Celts had received them from the English and it is now discovered that the English had received them from the French. Such are :

Cabin, M.E. *cabane*, F. *cabane*.

Gown, O.F. *goune, gone, gonne*. dial. F. (St-Pol) *golle* [2].

Pall, become vapid, O,F. *pallir*.

Paw, M.E. *poue, powe, pau*, O.F. *poue, poe* [3].

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1. To which *margine* should, in our opinion, be added, though the earliest quotation of F. *margine* in Godefroy is only dated 1464.

2. The French origin of *pack* is contested. Let us adduce St-Polois *pak* (thus spelt phonetically in Edmont), a bundle.

3. *Poe*, in the St-Pol dialect, means « thumb ».

Skein, O.F. *escaigne* (in Bradley's Stratmann). and possibly :

Crone, probably from O.N.F. *carogne* (Picard *carone*).

Funnel, M.E. *fonel*, apparently from O.F. *founil.

Griddle, apparently from early O.F. *gredil = *greil*, *grail* (mod. F. *gril*), or *gredille = *gradilie*, *greille* (mod. F. *grille*).

Lubber, M.E. *lobre*, *lobur*, possibly O.F. *lobeor*, swindler, parasite, with sense altered by association with *lob*, a country bumpkin.

Pert, ? for *apert*, O.F. *apert* (in Bradley's Stratmann).

The Teutonic languages themselves have been dispossessed.

The Scandinavian losses are :

A Teutonic word first : *gain*. An older *gain*, profit, advantage, was apparently Old Norse. But it grew obsolete in the 15th c. and was replaced by F. *gain*, with a closely allied meaning.

Crew is O.F. *creue*, increase.

Rape, a seizing by force, violation, is A.F. *rap*, *raap*, *rape*, (in Britton).

The French origin of the following words is not so certain :

Craze may be apheretic for *acraze*, F. *écraser*.

Limber, occurring in the Scotch of Douglas as *lymnar*, may be F. *limonière*.

Swedish has not lent the verb *flounder* which may

be a jumble of the French loan-word *founder* and E. *blunder*.

Dutch has no claim on :

Gittern, O.F. *guiterne*.

Harpoon, F. *harpon* (1485 in Hatzfeld, from L. *harpē, harpa*).

Morass, M.E. *mareis, marrass*, O.F. *marois, mares*, (in Bradley's Stratmann.)

Old Low German has nothing to do with *rail*, O.F. *reille*, L. *regula*, whose other form *regle, reule*, gave E. *rule* — an instance of a fortune made by two humble French words ! — while *rabbit* is apparently of Northern French origin (cf. Walloon *robett*).

English itself gives up :

Dally, O.F. *dalier* (common in A.F.)

Fell, cruel, O.F. *fel*, popular Latin *fellō*, nom. of *fellonem*.

Glean (*glene, glayne*), O.F. *glener, glainer* (F. *glaner*).

Lavish, adjective, from obsolete substantive *lavish*, O.F. *lavasse, lavache*, deluge of rain. Cf. O.F. *lavis*, torrent (of words).

Rankle, O.F. *rancler, raoncler*, var. *draoncler* (Godefroy) — substantive *rancle*, a fester, ulcer.

War, M.E. *werre*, O.F. *werre, guerre* (in Bradley's Stratmann), — while a distinction is drawn between native *fee*, cattle, money, and Norman *fee*, salary.

Not so certainly French are :

Chough, whose M.E. variants *cowe,* *chowe,* strongly suggest, for these forms, adoption from O.F. *choë, choue.*

Cricket, the game, apparently the same as F. *criquet* given by Littré as « jeu d'adresse », by Godefroy as « bâton servant de but au jeu de boules ».

Luff, early M.E. *lof, loof,* apparently O.F. *lof* (Wace, 12th c.), later *louf.*

Fractious is an E. derivative from F. *fraction,* after *captious,* etc.

Other words, whose origin had not yet been traced satisfactorily, are decidedly French loan-words, as :

Dismal, mentioned in 1256 as the E. or A.F. name for F. *les mals jours* : whence it appears to be O.F. *dis mal* = L. *dies mali,* evil days.

Inveigle, in 15-16th c. *envegle* (rarely *enveugle*), apparently a corruption of an earlier **avegle, aveugle,* from F. *aveugler,* to blind.

Others, considered as hybrids, are now recognized as pure French, as *debar* and *decipher.*

It is hardly necessary to draw attention to these words. Some are familiar like *paw,* some are among the most used words in the E. language, like *cabin, gown, crew, rail, rule, war*; others are expressive, like *lavish, rankle,* or both dainty and popular (being used in the dialects), like *dally.*

The numbers of those words borrowed by the

English language both from and through French and directly from Latin, of whose treasury French had given it the key, being already so vast as to make up a vocabulary hardly to be matched by any known tongue, there still remains a considerable contingent of nondescripts, many of which may eventually swell the amount of French contributions. Their history is a blank. Gaps yawn which as yet have not been, and may never be, filled up. Some have been disfigured « out of knowledge ». Not all bave been identified of those words ill-treated by popular etymology, like *andiron*, F. *andier; gingerbread*, F. *gingimbrat; salt cellar* (for *salar*), F. *salière; carry-all*, F. *carriole; pent-house* (for *pentisse*); *pope holy*, ? *papelard; mantua*-maker (*mantua* for *manteau*) ; *liquorish* for *lecherous ; endeavour* for *put* (*oneself*) *in devoir; inure* for *put* (*one*) *in ure*, *œuvre; culprit, cul.-prit*, an abbreviation for *culpable prist ;* etc. It is not always that something puts you on the scent of identities shadowed by an assumed native garb as *set*, in *a set of fellows*, corrupted from *sect* (kind) in : *men of this sect*, or *row*, in the phrase *to kick up a row* for *rout* in : *here is a rout* (1704)[1]. Other Teutonic appearances, like *faith, sprightly, haughty*, may conceal Romance realities. For some, as the following (an incomplete list, given ouly as a hint), a French origin may be conjectured.

1. Kington Oliphant. New English.

Beg ~~may be A.F. *begger* which occurs twice in~~
Britton « Ceux qi... vount *begaunt* » I, p. 91. « Tous
nos autres ministres... qe gentz de religioum... gre-
vent... par *begger* (var. *beguigner*) merrym ou
fustz » I, p. 93 (that is to say : by *begging* timber
or wood).

Graven, early M.E. *crauan*, ? O.F. *cravanté* or
créant, craant.

Crouch, F. *crochir* (« a fet... les épaules *crochir* »,
in Godefroy).

Dudgeon, hilt, the form of which suggests a F.
origin.

Gantry may be a perversion of O.F. *gantier*
(Du Cange, s. v. *cantarium*), var. of *chantier*.

Gaunt may be a graphic adoption of *gant* = O. F.
gent.

Gawk, ? F. *gauche*.

Gibe, ? O.F. *giber* (Godefroy).

Gingerly may represent an adoption of O.F. *gen-
sor*, the comparative of *gent*.

Glance, O.F. *glacer, glisser*, (a nasalized form).

Gravy, O.F. *grané*, perhaps mispelt *gravé*.

Groom, O.F. *gromet*, (E. *grummet*).

Grumble, cf F. *grommeler*.

Gull (dupe), perhaps from verb *gull*, cram, cf.
F. *engouler*.

Guzzle, ? O.F. *gosiller*.

Gyves, O.F. **guive* (spelt *give* in French Chron.
Lond. 14th c.)

Hiccup, *hicket*, *hocket*, ? F. *hoquet*, Walloon *hikète*, F. *hoqueter*.

Hockey, a game, ? O.F. *hoquet* « shepherd's staff, crook ».

Hovel, an open shed, ? O.F. **huvel*, whence O.F. *huvelet* « petit toit en saillie » Godefroy.

Huge, apparently aphetic from O.F. *ahuge* in same sense (no connecting link found).

Jaunt, verb, more or less identical in sense with *jaunce*, verb, probably O.F. *jancer*. Palsgrave : « je jance ».

Jaw (*jow*), O.F. *joe* [1].

Jeer, Normand dialect *giries* (also Rouchi), though it is obvious that this is inadequate to account for the English verb.

Jig, verb, ? O.F. *giguer*, *ginguer*, 15th c.

Jordan. The early accentuation and spellings indicate a French origin.

Junket, Normand *jonquette* = *jonchée*.

Lash, to strike. Some uses resemble those of F. *lâcher* (O.F. *lascher*).

Liable, plausibly explained as an A.F **liable*, that can be bound.

Queasy. The early forms being *coisy*, *queisie*, probably indicate a French origin, and connexion

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[1] The objection to this derivation in N.E.D. is that « Chaucer rimed *jowe* with *clowe* (= jaw, claw), which shows that the sound was not *ū*, and thus that the word was not the French *joue* ». But the case is identical with that of *paw*, which Dr. Murray derives from O.F. *poue*, *poe*.

with O.F. *coisier*, to wound (Godefroy), seems possible.

‹ *Quoit*. Connexion with O.F. *coitier*, *quoitier*, prick, spur, incite, would be probable if this verb had also the sense « to throw, hurl ».

Sterling, A.F. *esterling* (1299) ‹.

If the antiquity of a word is a merit, let it be observed that the French loan-words of the 1st period are older than many other English words. *Press*, which Bosworth would have banished as not being Saxon, has been used ever since the 13th c., while its synonym, E. *crowd* (from O.E. verb *crudan*), only comes into use at the end of the 16th c. Such words as *kill*, recorded about 1205, *kick*, about 1380, *clever*, not in general use before the 16th c., with a single example of it in M.E., seem to be, at best, coeval with them ‹.

The following, all of obscure or unknown origin, are comparatively late. They are accessions from the dialects, slang or cant, most of them. They may be considered, till more satisfactory information is forthcoming, as the creations of English itself, that is of a composite language part original and part French.

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1. See Skeat's Principles of Etymology, II. p. 65.

2. It must be observed in fairness that words may live for centuries without finding their way into books or dictionaries. *Drain* disappears for 500 years. There is no example of it since the O.E. period till the 16th c. There is no example of *drip* between O.E. and 15th c. Of *hurry*, which appears at the end of the 16th c., there is one doubtful example in M.E.

(It will be noticed again that the list is incomplete, beginning only with letter D.)

Dingy, not recognized by Dr. Johnson.

Dodge, 16th c.

Donkey, end of 18th c.

Douse, strike, 16th c.

Douse, plunge in water, c.1600.

Doze, verb, 17th c.

Drab, a slattern, 16th c.

Drag, verb, 15th c.

Draggle, not certainly known before 16th c.

Drawl, end of 16th c.

Drizzle, 16th c.

Drub, verb, after 1600.

Drudge, c. 1500.

Drum, c. 1540.

Dug, 16th c.

Dump, early in 16th c.

Dumpy, middle of 18th c.

Fag, verb, 16th c.

Fib, 16th c., possibly shortened from *fible-fable*, reduplication of *fable*.

Fidge, 16th c.; *fidget*, 18th c.

Finical, 16th c.. Ultimate derivation from *fine*, adj., seems probable.

Flare, verb, 16th c.

Flaunt, 16th c. The monosyllables of similar ending are (except perhaps *gaunt*) all from French.

Flounder, verb, 16th c. Perhaps a blending of *founder* (O.F. *founder*) and *blunder*.

Flout, verb, 16th c. ; possibly special use of M.E. *floute*, *flute*, play on the flute.

Fluster, 17th c. ; verbal substantive *flustering* found in 15th c.

Freak, substantive, 16th c., cognate with O.E. *frician*, to dance.

Frolic, 16th c., Dutch.

Fun, verb, 17th c. Perhaps a dialectal pronunciation of *fon*, vb., to befool.

Gust (of wind), 1588, in Shakespeare.

Handicap, two instances or three in 17th c.

Hanker, 1600.

Hazy, 1625, *haze*, 1706.

Hoax, shortly before 1800.

Huddle, 2nd half of 16th c.

Hush, verb, 16th c., apparently a back-formation from *husht*, adj., in much earlier use.

Jar, 16th c., probably echoic.

Jerk, c.1550, apparently echoic.

Job, a piece of work, 1627, possibly connected with *job*, a lump, perhaps, though with phonetical and semantical difficulties, an assibilated form of *gob*, apparently from F. *gobe*.

Jog, verb, 16th c.

Joke, 2nd half of 17th c.

Jolt, 16th c.

Jumble, 16th c.

Jump, c.1500 [1].
Lazy, 16th c.
Ogle, verb, late in 17th c.

And if we consider the mass of the probable ono-matopœic or echoic creations recorded in the N.E.D., we shall observe that many may have been suggested by, or adapted to, the French as well as the English existing words.

Argle (*argle-bargle*), probably a popular perversion of *argue*.

Flash, verb, may be referred to O.F. *flache*, M.E. *flashe*, a shallow pool, and verb *flasken* to O.F. *flasquer*, as also *plash* to O.F. *plache*; ? whence *splash* with epenthetic *s*.

Fribble has before it F. *frivole* (M.E. *frivol*.)

Gabble, jabber, gibber, follow *gab,* F. *gaber* (*jaber*) [2].

Gobble comes after *gob,* F. *gobe* (mod.F. *gobbe*).

Gurgle, guggle, may have had for their type *gargle*, F. *gargouiller*.

Clack (whence *clash*) corresponds to F. *claquer,* as well as *clink, clank, clang*, to F. *cliquer* — (*cliquaille clinquaille, quincuaille*); *clap* to Boulonnais *claper*.

Douse may be after *souse,* F. *saucer*.

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1. Cf. Boulonnais (rare) *jombir*, (more frequent) *rejombir*, « rebondir », *rejombeler* in Haigneré, no doubt a cognate of F. *regimber*, E. *regib(bed)* in Ancren R. 138 (*apud* Behrens), to kick.

2. Cf. *jap*, « babil » (Val de Saire, St Pol), *japer*, « caqueter, bavarder » (St Pol).

Jingle has before it *jangle*, F. *jangler*, though there does not appear any original association with *jangle*.

Jostle is a formation from F. *joust* [1]

It is wonderful the fecundity of many French words transplanted into English soil.

French *commander* gives to English both *command* and *commend*, which two senses it had, it is true, as well as its representative E. *command*, originally. The differentiation by means of the spelling is not an O.F. contrivance, as is seen in this instance from Aucassin : « Il prent congié as marceans et cil le *commandèrent* a diu » 28, 15, but it is made in Anglo-French. Gower writes :

> Ceste balade dame a vous encline
> Envoie pour vos graces *comender*.

> *F. Ballades*, A. 45, 4.

Two different dialectal forms of one F. word give two E. words of different meanings : *charge* and *cark*, *chase* and *catch*, *chattel* and *cattle*, *person* and *parson*. *Temper* and *tamper* are both descended from French *temprer*, mod. F. *tempérer ; tempt* and *taunt* from F.

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1. Is not *blur* (middle of 16th c.; perhaps onomatopoeic, combining the effect of *blear* and *blot*, in N.E.D.) a metathetic corruption of *breull*, *bruill* (a vague reminiscence of which there seems to be in the second part of *hurlie-burlie*), 16th c. forms of *broil*, F. *brouiller*, which the semantics suggest ?

tenter. F. *alléger* gives forth *allège, alleviate (alleyy)*
and *allay* :

> Tan que merci ses oignements attraie
> Et le destroit de ma dolour *allaie*.

<div align="right">GOWER. F. Ballades, A. 27.</div>

Attain and *attaint* have one origin. To F. *cadet*
are due E. *cadet, caddie, cad. Conjure*, F. *conjurer*,
splits into two. Pronounced with the stress on the
first syllable it generally suggests association with
the art of the modern « conjurer » or professor of
legerdemain ; accented on the last it means « to
charge or appeal to solemnly ».

French *raser* appears in three forms : *race, rase,
raze*, each of which has now a specific sense : *race*
meaning « to mark timber with the race-tool » ; *rase*,
« to incise (a mark or line), to erase ; *raze*, « to graze
(the skin), destroy (e. g. raze to the ground) ».

They are « provined » as successfully as the native
words. The F. *face*, a substantive, soon gives forth a
verb ; then come, *faceless, facer, facing*. The F.
adjective *able* yields also a verb, obsolete *able* : then
follow *enable, disable*, very important words. The
unpromising O.F. *ju parti* gives rise to a much used
E. substantive, *jeopardy*, whence immediately, so
soon as about 1374, the verb *jeopard*, followed by
jeopardize, not to mention obsolete *jeopardous*
and *jeopardless*. From *palm*, F. *paume (de la main)*
rise E. *palm off, palmister, palmistry*. E. *prose* is

<div align="right">D. — 6.</div>

adopted from the French, as well as its adjective *prosaic*. But here are derivations the French never dreamt of: an insipid talker *proses*; he is *prosy*, or a *proser*, or reproached with *prosiness*.

If the French loan-words are considered, not in their derivatives, but in themselves, « it is notable how many of them have in English received a development of sense far beyond their.... French uses »[1]. The senses of the adjective *clear* occupy six columns of the N.E.D. and the verb from it five, (to *clear* a man, make him innocent, to *clear* an obstacle, pass over it, etc.) The substantive *interest* fills up three columns and a half. It has taken such a distant meaning as «personal influence», as in «to make interest». Three columns are not quite sufficient for the substantive *instance*. What a rare fortune has been made by *nice* and *quaint!* Note the development of the English senses in the following : a man is *particular* about his food ; he is *humoured* by his friends ; it is a good thing to have a *competency* ; a miser may be called an old *screw* ; impostors are *exposed* ; we ought not te *reflect* on others ; when a man is embarrassed, he *demurs*.

And yet, which renders them very instructive to the French student, they generally adhere better to etymology. *Ordain* is nearer to O. F. *ordener* (Latin *ordinare*) than mod. F. *ordonner*, a form which was

1. Dr. Murray.

introduced in the 14th c. by false pronunciation [1]. *Partisan*, a weapon (Italian *partegiana*), has not been corrupted, while in French the word took the form *pertuisane* ou account of a false analogy with *pertuis*. *Porcupine* has not been so much altered as the French *porc-épic* for *porc-épin*.

They have also kept truer to their original senses. Littré deplores the disappearance of the first meaning of *chère* (L. *cara*, the face) in French [2]. In English, though the sense has evolved as far as in French and under French influence, the real meaning has not been so completety obscured by confusion with *chair*, no such similitude existing in the language, and the still read pages of the great classics have preserved the older sense from oblivion.

All fancy sick she is, and pale of *cheer*.

SHAKESPEARE. *Mids. N.* III. 2. 96.

Pale at the sudden sight she chang'd her *cheer*.

DRYDEN, a. 1700.

And still, very near us, in this line of Blake (1783-94),

So I piped with merry *cheer*.

Songs Innoc. Introd. 6.

1. Littré. Études et glanures.
2. *Cheer* bears this meaning in the following A.F. instance :
   Ker meinte fame est costumière
   De fere a celui *male chiere*
   Ki feel est a sun seignur.
   ROBERT DE HO. 1. 197.

the senses of « mood » and « face » are not kept
very much apart.

Conversation is limited in Modern French to the
sense of talk, colloquy, and scholars alone bear in
mind its primitive sense, due to its Latin origin, of
« the action of living with ». This has been preserved
in English by those two great conservative powers, the
Bible and the Law (e. g. criminal conversation). Even
in English it now runs the risk of being less uni-
versally understood since the Revisers of 1881 have
thought fit to replace it by « citizenship » in this
passage : « Our conversation is in heaven ». Philom.
III, 20. The existence, by its side, of the adjective con-
versant and of the substantive converse (« In converse
with the thoughts of manlier men. » HOLLAND, 1872),
may help to keep alive the memory of its better
acception [1].

When the French deviser was taken into English
its sense-development was far advanced, covering :
« to divide, distribute, dispose in portions, arrange,
array, dispose of, digest, order, form a plan or design,
invent, express or make known one's plan or will ».
All these senses English devise had. It still means
« to assign or give by will, to plan, frame, invent,
contrive ». Modern French knows only the sense « to
confer, discourse, commune, talk, chat », which was
also adopted for a time into English but is now obso-

[1]. « En la cité u il converse ». St Gilles, 495. — that is, where he
lives. Converſement occurs in Frère Angier with the sense of life.

lete. The substantives *device* and *devise* have also more strictly adhered to their former senses.

Garment (earlier *garnement*) still designates an article of dress, a sense which F. *garnement* lost long ago.

Sevrer and *trépasser* have, in French, been straitened to very narrow functions. *Sever* and *trespass* have, in English, retained their full powers.

Assaisonner is limited to the sense « to spice ». *Season* has kept the old meaning « to mature ».

In French, *chercher* has superseded *quérir* (L. *quærere*). *Chercher* (O.F. *cercher* — L. *circare*, go round, over) has been preserved in the English *search* with precisely its ancient meaning : « Toute France a *cerchié* » (he *searched* all France) ; « Se vos pères fait demain *cerquier* ceste forest ». *Aucassin*, 26, 17, (If your father has this forest *searched* to-morrow). In French the place of *chercher* is incompletely supplied by *parcourir*.

Even *demur* has preserved more of the force of the initial sense of F. *demeurer* (L. *demorare*, to delay) which it conveys in this example : « Aucassin... ploroit... por çou qu'ele [Nicolete] *demouroit* tant », though it has been specialized in expressing « to make scruples or difficulties, raise objections », from its legal use, than its vapid French correspondent, with a sense (no sense) which it holds in common with *rester* and *loger*.

We do not mean to say that English has no such

synonyms. On the contrary it is rich in having a plentiful supply of them. If it is no loss to have two words meaning the same thing, it is a distinct gain to a language to have words with different shades of meaning[1]. This particularity of the composite language that English is has been repeatedly dwelt on and illustrated. This short sentence from Christine Rosetti may stand for a demonstration : « When we ask to be *humbled*, we must not recoil from being *humiliated*. »

It will be objected to the Romance loan-words that they are not seen into. They are apt to become mere algebraic signs, quite arbitrary. Native combinations make up perspicuous words. That may be, though it is perhaps more specious than real. If so, why do commentators feel called upon to explain « 'Tis they have *put him on* the old man's death » by « *urged* him to *attempt* »? *Lear*, II. I. 99, Clar. Press ed.

Another inconvenience, which is pointed out by the N.E.D. « is seen in the fact that there are *seven* distinct words spelt *ore*, which moreover occurs as an obsolete spelling of *seven* others ». In the section R-Reactive, Dr. Murray notes « the prevalence of groups of monosyllabic words having the same form but of different origin and meaning». *Race* is the form of *seven* substantives, the chief of which are O.N. *race*, a run, and F. *race*, a lineage. The form *rack* belongs

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1. Champneys.

to *nine* nouns. *Rag, rail, rake, rap, rape, rash, rat, rate, rave, ray*, stand in the same predicament. Wealth may well have its drawbacks.

Does it seem as if we had been handling the mere luxury of the English tongue or a most important part of its very essence? Is it needful to show that practically there is no difference between a French loan-word and a native term? See them work alike : a sound is *echoed* back; a lady *coquettes* it; she is *squired* about; you *court-martial* or *county-court* a man. Shakespeare speaks of *supping* the dogs and Collier of *dining* the poor. A man is *ordered* off; a woman may be *spirited* away; you *pay* off a debt or *pass* off wares; something *turns* up; a player *declares* off; you *jest* a contradictor out of countenance; money is *fooled* away; a spendthrift *gallops* through his estate; a girl *cries* her eyes out, unless she *cries* herself sick, though it would be better for her to *cry* herself to sleep.

Even a French preposition may be as handy as any other, as witness *past* in : she is *past* her prime, or, he is *past* recovery. What greater privileges do the native words enjoy?

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A few Anglo-French texts examined. Their evidence.

Being persuaded that the Anglo-French texts had much to teach us in poiut of English etymology and semantics, we went to them. From them we have gathered a few facts which we subjoin.

We had till then failed to make out how French verbs of the 2nd conjugation could have given : 1) English verbs in *-ish* as *finish, replenish*, and 2) others not ending in *-ish* as *joy* (from *joir*), *enfeeble* (from *enfeblir*). The explanation usually is that *finish*, for instance, is adopted from *finiss* -, lengthened stem of *finir*. Why not *obey* from *obeiss* -, lengthened stem of *obeir*? The contrary anomaly of verbs of the I[st] French conjugation giving English verbs in *-ish*, as [1] *astonish* (earlier *astone*, etc.), *diminish* (earlier *diminue*) (the latter brought about by the influence of

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1. Sweet, 1757.

minish, earlier *menusen*, O.F. *menuiser*), *distinguish*
(earlier *distingue*), is more satisfactorily accounted
for, The suffix *-ish* once in use might be extended
without discernment. Yet even in some of these cases,
there must have been a more immediate cause, like
the conjectured existence of an A.F.*estonir*, ground-
ed on Palsgrave's *estonissement*. But then how are we
to account for the co-existence of *enfeeblish* and
enfeeble ? How, above all, can we rest satisfied with
the accepted derivation of *enfeeble* from *enfeblir* ? Are
we to have recourse to the explanation adopted by
the N.E.D., viz. an English formation : *en + feeble* ?
Not in the least. The cause is that which produced
fine and *finish*, the one from O.F. *finer* (Mod. F.
financer — again, not an English formation from
substantive *fine*, as the N.E.D. has it) and the other
from *finir*.

The fact is that in A.F. the first conjugation (the
only one which, in Mod.F. is still instinct with life and
to which all new formations belong) had become
paramount. It had brought under its rule many verbs
of the three others in *-eir,-re,-ir* [1].

This observation, verified by consulting the A.F.
texts, enables us to better a certain number of uncon-
vincing derivations :

Enfeeble is not, with N.E.D., from O.F. *enfe-*

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1. P. Meyer. Preface to N. Bozon, p. LXII.

blir (*enfebliss-*), but from A.F. *enflébler* [1] (Bozon).

Enrich is not, with N.E.D., from O.F. *enrichir* (*enrichiss-*), but from A.F. *enricher* (Bozon).

Obey is not, with N.E.D., from O.F. *obéir* (*obéiss-*) [2], but from A.F. *obeier* (Bozon).

Seize is not, with Bradley's Stratmann, from O.F. *saisir* (*saisiss-*), but from A.F. *saiser* (Boeve de Haumtone),

Stress is not, with Skeat, from O.F. *estrecir* (*estreciss-*), but from A.F. *estrecer* (Britton).

Warrant is not, with Skeat, from O.F. *garantir* (*garantiss-*), but from A.F. *garanter* (Bozon).

Wince is not, with Skeat, from O.F. *guénchir* (*gnenchiss-*), but from A.F. *gwencher* (Boeve de Haumtone).

Those verbs in *-ir* only matter which had a lengthened stem in *-iss*. The following list is given with the sole view of showing how far the process of reducing F. verbs to the 1st conjugation had gone in Anglo-French. We find :

Apparer for *appareir* or *apparoir* in Bozon.

Assailer for *assaillir* in Bozon.

Cheyer for *cheoir* in Britton.

Concenter for *consentir* in Boeve de Haumtone.

Cueiller for *cueillir* in Bozon (*quiller*) and in Britton (*coiller*).

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1. O F. had *afebloier* by the side of *afeblir*.
2. Which gave obs. *obeish*.

Departer for *départir* in Bozon.
Desenfower for *désenfouir* in Britton [1].
Despiser for *despire* in Bozon.
Detener for *détenir* in Britton.
Estreyner for *estraindre* in Bozon.
Meyntener for *maintenir* in Britton.
Purvéer for *pourvoir* in Britton.
Suffrer for *souffrir* in Bozon.
Sustener for *soustenir* in Bozon.
Tener for *tenir* in Britton.
Vener for *venir* in Britton.
And perhaps *exponder* for *expondre* : « il *exponde* »
in Gower (French Ballades, C. II, 3).

From our investigations among the A.F. texts we
have returned with the following gleanings : They are
   1. Possibilities of new derivations.
   2. Corrections proposed to former derivations.
   3. Doubtful derivations made a little surer.
   4. Conjectural forms verified.
   5. A. F. forms nearer to English forms adduced.

Awere, doubt, in Promptorium Parvulorum, is
missing in the N.E.D. It is the A.F. *awer, aweer,
eoyr, ewer*, in Britton. « Et s'il [les jurours] soint en
aweer et en doute » translated : « And if the jurors
are *undecided* and in doubt ». Godefroy has *éguer*,

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   1. Implying *fower* = *fouir*, whence dialectal *few*, to attempt,
strive. (E D.D.).

« égaliser, devenir égal » ; *ever, ewer, aver, yguer, higuer,* « égaler, comparer; aplanir. »

Bawdstrot, bawd. Dr. Murray, quoting the O.F. *baudetrot,* conjectures an earlier O.F. **baldestrot,* **baudestrot.* Bozon (p. 169) has *baudestrote,* with a variant *baudestrod.* (The archaic character of Anglo-French is a well known fact). Of this *bawdstrot* the N.E.D. conjectures that the substantive *bawd* is an abbreviation.

Beray, rail, ray. *Ray* is given in the N.E.D. as aphetic from *array.* No doubt the inference was come at through Palsgrave's explication of : I *arraye* or fyle with myer, « j'emboue ». The confusion, as will be seen, was easy between the proper sense of *ray* and the ironical sense of *array,* either to « dress », drub, thrash, (cf. F. *arranger*) or to put into a sore plight, hence disfigure, as in : « Indeed age hath *arrayed* thee ! » 1530, or in : « See, so cham *arrayed* with dabbing in the dirt» 1575. But lhe special meaning of *ray,* substantive, now dialectal, i. e. diarrhæa in sheep or cattle, and the dial. verb and substantive in use in Yorkshire and Lancashire, the verb meaning « to defile, soil ; to pollute with dung » (for instance, « it is an ill bird that *rays* its own nest »), point to another source and suggest the identity of *ray* with obs. *rail,* said to be of obscure origin in the N.E.D. and meaning « to flow, gush (*down*). Usually said of blood ». This is the A.F. *raier* : « E tut solom sa char funt le sanc *raier* » *Boeve de Haumptone,* l. 1670;

« K'a l'ortil le sanc lui *raie.* » *St. Gilles* 1. 1888 ;
« Pur estanger le sanc qui *reie* ». *St. Gilles* 1. 1878.
Beray is that *ray* or *rail* made transitive. The
following example in the N.E.D. carries conviction
with it : « The king was slaine... and the bed all
beraied with blood » HOLINSHED. Cotgrave, without
mentioning this meaning of *rayer* in his enumeration
of the senses, gives it subsequently in the phrases :
« La mamelle ne rayoit que du sang. *Yeelded
nothing but blood ; nothing spowted, flowed, issued,
or came from it but bloud : hence also,* Il luy fit
rayer le sang par le nez ». The identity between
the case of *ray* (aphet. f. *array*) and *rail* (of obscure
or.) = defile, on the one hand, and that of *ray*
(aph. f. *array*) and *rail* (a. O.F. *reiller*, L. *regulare*)
= arrange, on the other, would deserve further
consideration.

Boistous. Dr. Murray declares that the phono-
logy and form suggest French origin, but objects
to A.F. *boistous*, Mod.F. *boiteux*, lame, the want of
connexion between the French and English senses.
This is indisputable. Here is an instance in Bozon
where *boistous* bears quite its English sense of *rough* :
« En la terre de Cizille un piere neyr e *boystouse* est
trovee e de nature contrariouse. » The editor is of
opinion that this is not the same word as *boiteux*.
Might is not be an extension of the sense from that of
« lame » to that of « misshapen, distorted, not smooth,
uneven, rough. » It is the meaning of the word in

these instances in Littré : « Et semblablement font ceulx qui veulent drecier les fusts ou les bastons qui sont tors, tornés et *boisteux* » ORESME. « L'un gist en terre tout honteux, L'autre a le col tout *boi-teux.* » DUBELLAY. Twice does the word occur in Robert de Ho. It is opposed to smooth, or soft. The writer bids his son beware of « ome o mout pleines (smooth) paroles, Ki les planie et fet... moles », for a hypocrite is better able to deceive him than « un autre *boitous* ne porreit — var. Ke le *boistos* ne poreit », lines 127 & sq. The other passage is this :

De lui est cum de l'oiseleur
Qui au bois pipe de cler jur.
Cum il pipe plus doucement.
Plus li viennent espessement
Li oiseaus de bois entor sei,
Qu'il prent et retient en sun brai.
Cil qui pipe *boitousement* (var. E sil pipe *boito-sement*)
Sachez que mout le meins en prent. ll. 141 & sq.

It seems to be still the sense of « rough, uneven » that *boiteux* bears in this example from Godefroy.

Fors par une voie *boiteuse*,
Roiste, estroite et ataineuse.

Note, in the quotation, the occurrence of the source of another English word, *roist*, a variant of *roister*, which, like *boisterous*, took in English the sense of

« turbulent, blustering ». The extension of the senses in both seems to have been parallel. *Boistous* meaning successively : 1. lame, 2. uneven, 3. violent, 4. noisy ; *roiste* : 1. rustic, 2. rough, 3. noisy [1].

Bond is said, in N.E.D., to be a phonetic variant of *band* (O.N. *band*). Yet *bondage* is O.F. in Skeat and A.F. in N.E.D. Under *bondage* Dr. Murray cites A.F. *bond, bonde*, but not under *bond*. Yet one at least of the senses of this last word is common to English and to A.F. Gower writes :

> Cil qad sespouse propre deinz sa *bonde*.
> > *French ballades*, C. 18,1.

where *bonde* is obviously « the *bonde* of matrimonye or wedlocke » of the first quotation under 7. b. in the N.E.D.

Bounteous. M.E. *bontyvous, bountevous*, is, by N.E.D., traced to O.F. *bontif, bontive*. It might be well to add that the form *bountevous* occurred in A.F. Gower has it.

> Vous estes dame assetz plus *bountevouse*.
> > *F. Ball.* A. 31,1.

In the same ballad there also occurs *plenteouse*.

Broil. Dr. Murray declares it of uncertain origin and history. The form *brule*, he states, appears to be

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1. A fourth meaning would be « drunk » in the Boulonnais and St-Polois *roste* (whence St-Polois *rosterie*, drunkenness).

the F. *brûler*. But it may be a distinct word. He reco-
gnizes however ·that the O.F. *bruillir* (in Godefroy)
may have given *bruyle*, which would become *broyle*,
broil. In fact, the form existed in A.F. In Bozon
a man, complaining to his neighbour that his cat will
not stay at home, obtains this answer : « Escourtez sa
cowe, e copés les orailles, e *broillés* la peel, e ele
demorra a meison », p. 74. This seems to settle the
question.

Bucket is pronounced by the N.E.D. to be of
uncertain etymology, though apparently from O.F.
buket, washing-tub, milk-pail. It is a constant word
in the texts written in England. It appears in the
form *pokete* and with the meaning « pail in which to
draw water out of a well » in Bozon. The presence
of the variant *boke* suggests a confusion of, and
hesitation between, the F. *buquet* and the O.E. *búc*,
M.E. *bowk*. Thus *bucket* would be, not precisely a
hybrid, but something of it — at all events an A. F.
formation.

Cauliflower. The word *cholet*, cabbage, in Bozon •
(p. 182), which may have also had the form *colet, cau-
let*, preserved in modern Picard, suggests *colet-* or
caulet-flori (E. *colie-florie*, in 16th c.).

Coarse. The N.E.D. (as well as Kington Oliphant
in his New English) adopts the suggestion of Wedge-
wood that *coarse* is really an adjective use of *course*,
with the sense of « ordinary », as in the expression
of course. But the 1st instance of *of course* is dated

1541, whilst the 1st instance of *cors* is dated 1424. Even in this quotation nothing particularly suggests the proposed etymology. In « too [two] *cors* bord clothes » what makes for « cloths of course » rather than « cloths wanting in fineness of texture » ? This latter sense is by far the more obvious. It is certainly the more common and the only one extant. Now a quotation from Britton will suggest, for the origin of *coarse*, another word, which, with regard to morphology, if it presents some difficulties, yet, semantically, is far more satisfactory. Britton writes (I, 366) : « Car teles fraunchises sount si simples qe eles ne soeffent point de bail de seisine cum fount choses grosses, *corsues* et materieles », translated : « gross, *coarse* and material things ». The E. *coarse* naturally suggested itself to the translator. Two objections offer : 1. *Corsu* was adopted as *corsy*. But here, already, the N.E.D. is obliged to observe that « the ending is assimilated to that of English adjectives in *-y* ». This is a departure from the usual process. 2. How is the dropping of this *y* to be accounted for ? The Scotch adjective *boss,* which may mean « turgid, swollen », may be the same word as *bossy*, F. *bossu.*

Concluse, verb, obsolete, (M.E. *conclused*) « to overcome in argument », is derived, by N.E.D., from Latin. It occurs in Anglo-French. Robert de Ho writes of a gambler :

> E s(e) une feiz est a dessus,
> A l'autre s'en ira *conclus.* ll. 73-4.

D — 7.

which the glossary explains : « confus, embarrassé ».
Robert de Ho is supposed to have written between
1192 and 1203-4. The E. *conclused* is dated about
1300 in N.E.D. It is apparently an adoption of the
A.F. word.

Condone. It is traced directly to Latin in the
N.E.D. But its constant occurrence in the A.F. texts
makes it unlikely that it completely disappeared.
Though it is illustrated solely with examples of the
second half of the 19th c., in which the sense is
« to forgive », Dr. Murray mentions early dictionary
entries, the first of which (1623) explains the word
as « to give ». This was the sense in A.F.. Bozon
writes : «...... mès q'il vive treis centz ans com
nature lui *condonne* », p. 91. The best argument in
favour of its continuance is its occurrence in the
Law-French of Britton : «... solom ceo qe ley et
dreit *condoune* », II, 4. (The word is also in Robert
de Ho, l. 2794).

Contrary is said by Dr. Murray to be *appa-
rently* adopted from early O.F. *contrarie*. This is
the form that occurs at line 33 of the « Donnei des
Amants ».

Cramp, verb, is given in the N.E.D. as from
cramp, substantive. The verb occurs in Anglo-
French. Britton (I, 90) speaks of « gentz malades et
crampuz de goute et mahaigneez et passetz le age de
LXX. aunz », « sick, or disabled by gout, or maimed,
or passed seventy years of age », runs the translation.

Crone, as applied to a woman, according to
N.E.D., is probably taken directly from O.N.F.
carogne, « a cantankerous or mischievous woman ».
The following quotation from Gower would bear it
out :

> Rois vluxes pur plaire a sa *c*[*a*] *roigne*
> Ffalsoit sa foi devers penelope
> Auvec circes fist mesme la busoigne.

Traitié pour ensampler les amantz marietz. VI. 3.

(var. read. *coroigne*).

Cuttle, knife. Dr. Murray cautiously says : apparently from O.F. *coutel.* The earliest example he
gives is dated 1546 and at that time, he observes,
the O.F. form in *-el* was obsolete. It would go to
prove that an earlier instance remains to be hunted
out. *Cotel* is in Britton (I, 37, 354).

Derve existed in O.E. as a strong verb in the
sense « to labour ». From the 13th c. we find a causal
weak verb, « to cause to labour, afflict, grieve ». By
the side of it occurs *derverye* (from O.F. *derverie,
desverie,* madness, from *derver, desver,* to go mad).
This F. *derver* was used reflexively as in :

> Et de ce *se derve* e enrage.

THOMAS. *Tristan,* l. 1026.

and also actively as in this instance from Aucassin :
« Avez-vous le sens *dervé*? » If we compare to this
the quotation from the Ancren Riule in N.E.D. : « He

was *idoruen* in all his other wittes », does it not seem that the meanings do not stand very wide apart from each other ? (Mod.F. *endêver*).

Enhance is said by the N.E.D. to be adopted from A.F. *enhancer*, probably a mere corruption of *enhaucer*. We surprise the process in Britton. The word is once spelt *enhaucé*, (I, 302) and another time *enhauncé* (var. *enhauce*), (I, 106.) It is a case of nasalisation.

Escape, substantive.«Cf. O.F. *eschap* (perhaps the source in 14th c.)», reads the N.E.D. We find A.F. *eschap* in Britton, I, 44. « Et si aukun gardeyn soit suspect del consent del *eschap* », translated : « and if any gaoler be suspected of having consented to the *escape* ».

Felo-de-se is, according to the N.E.D., Anglo-Latin. This there is no denying. Yet a doubt arises in our mind whether it was at first meant for Latin. « Feloun de sei meymes » has Britton (I. 39.) Now Fuller (1655) speaks of *Felons de Se*, in which example, if *felon* retains its French form, why would not « *de se* » be the French « *de sei* » ? Is it not likely that the Latin form suggested itself ? It must have appeared absurd to use what seemed two Latin words « de se » in connection with an English word, especially as so little was wanted to render the whole phrase consistent. This was done by dropping the final *n* of *felo* and thus the now current form was found.

Frape, crowd, mob, is, in the N.E.D., ? an adoption of O.F. *frap* of same meaning. The word occurs in Britton : « . .viscountes. . qe gentz de religioum. . grevent par surcharges de lour venues pur herberger ovekes eux sovent a autri custages oveke trop de *frape* des gentz » I,93, translated : « too great a crowd of people ».

Frush. The N.E.D. gives, in section I, the equivalents : a rush, charge, onset, collision. But several of the instances seem to be somewhat far from the proposed explanation. The sentence « He and all his cumpany. . . In-till a *frusche* all tok the flycht » rather seems to imply that they all fled *together*, as also this other one, « All in a *frushe* in all the haste they may They ran ». This is precisely the sense of the phrase « à un *fruis* » in Frère Angier, where also « à tel *fruis* » is taken by the author of the glossary to mean « en si grand nombre » rather than « avec une si grande violence ». In Godefroy, the same sense appears in « Le peuple venoit a si grand *fruisse* e nombre ». Now, may not this use have influenced the word *flush* (which, in many of its acceptions, may be a variant of *frush*), where we find, mingled with the notion of rapid motion, be it of flight or flow, those of force or violence and of abundance. The native E. *flush* having been itself influenced in its semantics by instinctive associations with *flash* and *blush*, may have also been influenced by *frush*. And this shows

how intimately interwoven the native and adventitious element have been.

.. So that you cannot say that even a native word owes nothing to the introduction of Norman French. In fact you cannot separate English into two distinct elements. Both are blended together and have interacted on each other.

Dialectal *frush* (O.F. *fruissier, froissser*), 1. to rub, 2. rumple, 3. also means « rush out... gush or spurt out », which would go far towards establishing that *frush* and *flush* may ultimately be one and the same word.

Gaud. In Frère Angier, the word *gande* occurs with the meaning of « sornette, tromperie ». It is in Godefroy : *Gande* = ruse? détour? In the modern French patois *guandie* is still extant with the sense « fariboles, sornettes ». The English *gaud* is at once suggested, which the N.E.D. describes as « a trick, prank ; often, a device to deceive, a pretence ; also a game, sport or pastime ». There would remain to account for the loss of the *n*. The first example in the N.E.D. renders it useless. It reads thus :

13.., *Seuyn Sages* (W.) 3957 For thi *gaudes* (*printed* **gandes**) and thy gilry I gif this dome that thou sal dy.

There seems to be left no place for doubt and here is an origin pretty surely ascertained. Thus *gaud* is not adopted from an A.F. substantive from *gaudir* (Latin *gaudere*), but from an O.F. substantive *gande* from German *wandjan.*

Grant, sb., illustrated by an instance dated about 1225, is said by the N.E.D. to be from the verb. It is the A.F. substantive *grant*, which occurs in the « Roman de Tristan » written by Thomas about 1170 :

> Ne en promesse ne en *grant*,
> Unques ne fist ne tant ne quant.
>
> <div align="right">ll. 859, 860.</div>

Grove is an Old English word. Marie de France has *grave* in the same meaning. It is generally considered as one of those words particular to the A.F. writers. Yet its occurrence in the St-Pol dialect as *grève*, « rangée d'arbres », a row of trees (Edmont) would imply that it was part of the Norman vocabulary. May it not have coalesced with the O.E. *grove* ?

Incense. The N.E.D., contrary to Skeat, who traces the word to Latin, derives it from O.F. *incenser*. Its 15th and 16th c. forms *encense*, *ensense*, point to F. *encenser*, which, in fact, occurs in Bozon : « Le solail de sa doctrine qe deust ecchaufer lur alme tant freilouse e *encenser* en voye si perillouse », p. 60 (var. *assenser*).

Labile. Would not the occurrence of *lable* (of no duration, transitory) in Frère Angier — « Plours veins et *lables* » — « Cors tant feble et *lable* » — tend to prove that the origin of the word is French rather than Latin ? Its early forms are *labyl* and *labil*, as the early forms of *able*, F. *able*, are *abill(e*, *abyl*, *abel*, *abul*. Its eventual spelling may have

been an after correction bringing the form nearer
to the Latin original.

Lask (cf. *lash* — both being Latinized later on into
lax) is traced by Dr. Bradley, with a « ? » of dubiety,
to O.N.F. **lasque*. It is, in fact, the A.F. *lasq*, used
by Frère Angier in the sense of « neglectful, remiss ».

Lazar (also *lazer* in Middle English) is derived
from Mediæval Latin by the N.E.D. But the Norman
dialect, more archaic than the other French dialects,
had *lazre*, instead of F. *ladre*, as appears in this quo-
tation from the « Roman de Tristan » :

> Tut s'apareille cum fust *lazre*,
> Et puis prent un hanap de mazre.
>
> II. 1783-4.

Mange. *Mangy*, in Skeat, is said to be F. *mangé*,
« eaten, fed on » Cotgrave. The fact is that O.F.
manger was also used in the sense of *démanger,* to
itch. It is found in this sense in Robert de Ho :

> Quar cil qui souvent muet barate,
> Plus souvent fet dont il se grate
> La ou il point ne se *menjue*. ll. 2406-8.

Mangle is from O.F. *mahangler,* in Skeat's errata
and addenda. *Démangler*, in Frère Angier, shows a
form nearer to English [1].

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1. *Margon*, sb., muttering, in Bradley's Stratmann, no doubt
represents F. *margoignier, margouiller*, « ronger, mâchonner », in
Godefroy; *margouiller*, to gnaw, mumble, in Cotgrave

Mazer, a maple-bowl, stands in Bozon (p. 5o) in this its English form, not in the O.F. form *madre.* As the word is not recorded in O.E., it may have been brought over by the Normans. See also *mazre* s. v. *lazar.*

Mandrake. *Mandragore,* an adoption from Latin in Skeat. is an adoption from French in Bradley's Stratmann. *Mandrake,* a shortened form, occurs in Anglo-French. In Bozon we find *mandrage* and the variant *mandrake* (p. 79).

Mean, adopted from F. *meien,* in Skeat and Bradley's Stratmann. We find the A.F. form *mene* (var. *meene*) in Bozon, p. 138.

Mere, pure, is derived from Latin by Skeat. It is not found in Stratmann. Kington Oliphant in his « New English » mentions its appearance in the phrase « of his *mere* mocion » in the Rolls of Parliament for 15o3. It existed in Anglo-French. Here is an instance from Boeve de Haumtone : « .. covert de argent ou de or *mer* » l. 869. Readers of Aucassin and Nicolette will have met with it in the form *mier* (9.3,9.)

Muzzle. Skeat, finding the M.E. form to be *mosel,* conjectures an O.F. **mosel.* Bradley's Stratmann gives O.F. *musel.* G. de Berneville writes it *mazele.*

> N'out pouint de barbe en sa *mazele.*
> *St Gilles,* l. 62.

Odible is traced to Latin in the N.E.D. The

earliest instance is dated 1412-20. There is an earlier and a French *odible* in Gower (? 1350) :

> Amour est chose *odible* et graciouse
> *F. Ball.*, B. 48.3.

Palmer, a pilgrim, — *palm* existed in O.E. — is an A.F. formation :

> Trova un *paumer* suz un arbre seaunt.
> *Boeve de Haumtone*, l. 823.

Perform is held to be the representative of M.E. *perfornie* (in Bradley's Stratmann), O.F. *parfournir*, in same sense : « Ou si le jugement soit *parfourni* ou noun ». BRITTON, II, 89, translated : « the judgment executed or not ». *Fournir* is used with the same meaning : « Les execuciouns de lour jugement deyvent estre *forniz* » BRITTON, I, 21, translated « performed ». *Parformer* also occurs in A.F. Its meaning is not identical. In

> Por *parformer* mout bien ma rime
> ROBERT DE HO, l. 985.

it is the equivalent of E. achieve, complete. May not two different words have been confused ?

Philosopher. Such forms as *philosopher* and *provender* from F. *philosophe* and *provende* are embarassing. Skeat treats the parasitic *r* as an English addition. In the case of *provender* he even queries whether there may not have been a confusion with M.E.

provendre, a prebendary. It is, in reality, much more simple. The needless *r* had crept in in Anglo-French. The two forms coexisted in Middle English. We find *filosofe* and *philosophre* (Chaucer), *provende* and *provendre* (Langland) in Stratmann. The A.F. forms are *philosophre* in Bozon, pp. 121, 125, *provendre* in Boeve de Haumtone, l. 1018.

Plight, with all its different meanings, is O.E. *pliht* in Bradley's Stratmann. The O.E. senses in Sweet are « peril, damage ». Is not the meaning of « condition » to be ascribed to the other *plight*, a fold, derived from the French ? [1] This is suggested by the following line from Gower :

> Et pour descrire amour en son droit *plit*.
> *F. Ball.*, B. 26.3.

Its doublet is *plait*.

Plot. Under *complot* the N.E.D., following Skeat, guesses that *plot* is perhaps an abbreviation of *complot*. *Complot* appears in Littré in the 12th c. in senses « crowd, concourse », and, in the following instance : « Moult estera honi qui verra tel *complotte* [bataille] et partira du champ... », in the sense of « struggle ». Its origin is uncertain. Now we find in Bozon, p. 27: « E pur ceo se met al aler [le lievere] qe il ne vigne

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1. It is the opinion of Skeat, as we have found since this was written. In his Chaucer Canon he says : « When *plight* means « to pledge », it is of E. origin..., when « condition », it is of F. origin » p. 46.

en *pelote* de leverer ». *Pelote* here means *pack* [1]. In
The Merry Wives of Windsor *pack* stands in the
sense of *plot*. « There's a knot, a ging, a *pack*,
a conspiracy against me ». IV, 2.122. Again in
Lear we find *packings* used in the same sense, and
packed in the sense of « confederate » in Much Ado,
V, 1, 308. In the face of such evidence is it not very
likely that *pelote* is responsible for the English *plot*,
as well as for the F. *complot* (note *complotte* in the
above quotation)? There would remain to trace *plot*
in the sense of « a pack of hounds ». Its existence in
A.F. is a strong argument in favour of its existence in
English. The N.E.D. will no doubt afford us instances
of this use.

Prelacy is an A.F. formation. The French word
in Cotgrave is *prelature* (so still in Modern French).
Bozon has *prelatye* on p. 114 and *prelacie* on p. 152.

Proffer is derived, in both Skeat's Etymological
Dictionary and Bradley's Stratmann, from O. F. *pro-
férer*. But *proférer* means « to utter ». A:F. *profrer*,
(*profrir*, *parofrir* in O.F.), is the real parent, as the
meaning alone would show. Bozon, p. 166, has « *pro-
frer* lur marchandie ». And we find in Britton :
« Ceo *profre* jeo a prover », translated : « This I offer
to prove ». I, 103, and : « Et si nul eyt autre armure
sur ly muscee, et de ceo eit grevé soen adversarie, ou
profert de grever... », translated : «... and therewith
annoy or *offer* to annoy his adversary. » I, 107.

1. Cf. Mod. F. *peloton*. E. *platoon*.

Provender. See *Philosopher*.

Pudding is, in Bradley's Stratmann, derived from F. *boudin*, of which it originally bears the meaning, as this quotation from Bozon clearly shows : «... le prodhomme... tue un porke ou deus pur doner les *puddingez* e les entraillez a ces enfantz e a sa meignee », p. 142. The word has already assumed its English dress so that the French editor of Bozon declares it an English word.

Purport. Skeat, stating that the verb occurs first in Bacon, suspects it to be a much older word. It is not in Bradley's Stratmann. Britton has the noun : « ... solum le *purport* de la graunt chartre » I,95.

Rave. Skeat, while deriving it from F. *rêver*, sees difficulties. The N.E.D. reads thus : « ? adoption from O.F. *raver*, apparently a variant (of rare occurrence) of *rêver* ». Frère Angier uses *raever* in the sense of E. *rave* and writes the substantive indifferently *raeverie*, *raiverie*, *reiverie*, madness.

Remedy, from O.F. **remedie* not recorded, says Skeat. And Bradley's Stratmann traces it to F. *remède*. It is surprising that it has not been referred to Latin *remedium*. In fact, *remedie* occurs in Britton, I,24. « Car ausi cum les malices de gentz cresent, si covent de acrestre chapitres et autres *remedies* ».

Revile: Under this word Bradley's Stratmann refers to M.E. *avili*, verb, from F. *avilir*, and Skeat explains it as « coined by prefixing F. *re-* to O.F. *aviler*, thus producing a form **raviler* easily weakened

into *reviler* ». This occurs in Bozon : « Auxint deüst homme *reville*[*r*] (var. *reveyler*) celui que une foyze est ateynt pur faux », p. 73.

Rifle, a musket, is, by Skeat, pronounced to be Scandinavian. It is a *rifled* musket. But are not *rifle*, to carry off as plunder, and *rifle*, to groove, one and the same word, and are they not both another form of *raffle ?* This is the opinion of Littré [1] who gives both meanings under the same word : « 1. égratigner, fig., piller, voler, 2. limer dans des ciselures ou canne-lures. » What puts us on considering the word is a passage in Britton where we ʼread of « brusure ou *rifflure* » = bruise or scratch, I, 122.

Ruffle, to be noisy and turbulent, to bluster (as in Lear, II, 4, 297 : « the high winds do sorely *ruffle* ») is, by Skeat, derived from Old Dutch. But would not the A.F. *ruffler* (*runfler*, Mod.F. *ronfler*) be accountable for this use ? We find it in Boeve de Haumtone :

Boefs le vist vener si comença a *ruffler*, l. 753.

Here it means « to snore » ; farther on we have it in the sense « to snort » :

E le destrer de la gule forment ad *runflez*, l. 1262 D.

An extended sense is found in this quotation in Littré :

1. As well as of Hatzfeld-Darmstetter. In the dialect of St-Pol *rifle* is « un morceau de bois avec lequel le faucheur affile sa faux », (Edmont). In the same dialect *rifler* has its meaning in standard French, « to rob », whilst *érifler* stands for the F. *erafler*, to scratch.

« Après avoir faict *ronfler* [tirer] son artillerie ».
CARL. IV, 14. The unnasalized form of *ronfler* is
still extant in the dialect of St-Pol. By the side of
standard F. *ronfler*, to snore, there is in use the
form *roufler*, said of the wind and also of a stove
(Edmont).

Sane is Latin and a comparatively late word. It
is not in Bradley's Stratmann. Yet *sane*, as a substan-
tive, is said by Halliwell to have been « a medical
composition described in an early MS. of medical
receipts in Lincoln cathedral ». The adjective was,
it would seem, adopted in order to English the F.
sain. We should not be surprised that there had been
in early use a verb *sane*. Britton writes of « *saner* sa
defaute » II, 106 (Law Latin *sanare defaltam*), to
clear his default [1].

See, the seat of a bishop. Skeat gives the French
forms *sed*, *se*. Frère Angier has *sie*, and *sé* riming
with *ordené*. In St-Jean l'Aumônier it occurs as *sié*
riming with *arceveschié*.

Serviceable (*servisable* in Bradley's Stratmann)
is the A.F. *servisable* in Frère Angier. Gower uses it :

Qe jeo qa vous sui toutditz *servicable*.
F. Ball. B, 29.2

Skipper, the master of a merchant-ship, is traced

1. Add to this *saner*, cure, heal, in Thomas, Le Roman de
Tristan :
U sa plaie n'ert ja *sanee*. I. 2772.

to Dutch by Skeat who finds it first used by Howell in a letter dated from Amsterdam, 1617. We should be surprised that the word had not been in existence before, finding it in the « Roman de Tristan » :

> Li orage sunt tant creü
> Qu'*eskipre* n'i fu tant preisez
> Qui peüst ester sur ses pez. ll. 2882-4.

Squash. It is difficult phonetically to account for *squash* from F. *esquacher*. The fact is that *esquacher* gave M.E. *squachen*, in Bradley's Stratmann. It is to A.F. *esquasser* (Boeve de Haumtone, l. 1226), variant *quasser* [1], M.E. *quaschin*, E. *quash*, that we should trace *squash*.

Squeamish, Scand. in Skeat, is shown to be French by the form *sqveimous* (*sqvaimous*), in Bradley's Stratmann, from the A.F. *escoimous*, apt to nauseate, overnice, (thus in Stratmann). « Si il poy mange e beyt poy, lors est gageous [2] ou *escoymous*. BOZON, p. 158.

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1. This has lived on uncorrupted as to pronunciation in the St-Polois dialect. *Quasser*, in it, (which might be phonetically represented as *kwashé*) means « blesser, faire mal », to hurt — whilst *casser* lives by its side, with its usual meaning in standard French, i.e. to break. Also *kwashür* (spelt phonetically), « blessure, coup », a wound, and *cassure*, a break.

2. A rare word, not recorded in Godefroy, where however *gage*, adj. occurs, unexplained. That it has something to do with the nausea is suggested by the context and moreover supported by the apparently related words, Boulonnais *waille* (perhaps more correctly spelt *wai* — with diphthongal sound) in « avoir le cœur *wai* », nauseate, and St-Polois *waker*, in same meaning. Compare also E. *gag*.

Stale, decoy (in Halliwell — not recorded in Bradley's Stratmann), is the word *estale* in this passage : « Luy oysealloix qe la [lui gentil faucon] veot decevere si met un veux columbe devant sa rey, com un *estale*, par ont le faucon est deceü, pris, confundu ». Bozon, p. 169. P. Meyer observes, in his glossary, that the word has not as yet been recorded in French. Is it not the same word as *estal* (O.F. *estal*) recorded in the N.E.D. and interpreted as : « a place, post » ?

Story, according to Skeat, is from a probable A.F. **estorie*. It occurs in the Donnei des Amants, l. 17, and in Thomas, le Roman de Tristan, l. 3137.

Strip. Two words must have coalesced : one, the O.E : *(be-)strypan* (plunder, in Sweet), the other, the O.F. and A.F. *estrepper,* « extirper, arracher », in Britton, I,36 : «.. ne faceum *estreper* ne gaster les tenementz ne les boys », translated : « *destroyed* or wasted ». A few instances from Godefroy, s. v. *estroper, estriper, estraper,* etc., will show the connexion of the senses. « *Estreper* et oster les vieilles [ardoises] » 1442, Béthune. « Une palette a *estreper* l'ordure » Lille. E. *strip,* sb., waste, in a legal sense ; destruction of fences, buildings, limber, etc. is the Norm. *estrippe* (Webster), Frère Angier has : « fesoit les bois *estrepper* ».

Stun. This word Skeat, in his Etymological Dictionary, traces to O.E. *stunian.* But *stunian,* in Sweet, is explained as « to resound ; dash (against) »,

D. — 8.

which offers no very obvious connexion as to meaning. Bradley's Stratmann, s. v. *stunien*, mentions no origin. Yet his recording such forms as *stonede*, *stoüned*, would appear to infer that he is inclined to think it related to the word *astonie* (forms : *astoned*, *astouned*). The French verb *estoner* (which is already responsible for *astone*, *astony*, *astonish*), has, by its variant *estuner* (Esturdiz fu e *estunez*. MARIE DE FRANCE, 74, 34) also originated a fourth verb, viz, *stun*. A reference to N.E.D., s. v. *astoned*, would remove all doubt if there needed be any. The variant *astunned* is conclusive. In fact we just now chance on precisely the same etymology in Skeat's Principles, II § 42.

Supine. *Supin*, var. *sovin*, lying on the back, occurs in Frère Angier. Skeat ascribes the E. word to Latin. Having no data as to the first appearance of it in English, we must be content to point to its A.F. existence. It is not recorded in Stratmann. But then Stratmann's M.E. Dict. revised by H. Bradley does not profess to be « exhaustive » especially « with regard to the Romanic element » Pref. pp. IX, X.

Tackle. In some of its meanings at least, as a verb as well as a substantive, French ought to be taken into account. Bozon has *ateicler*, *atiecler*, meaning *attacher*, which is itself a variant of *attaquer*, between which two verbs some F. dialects as Picard make no difference as to pronunciation. *Tackle*, to

attack (various dialects), in Halliwell, and to seize, to lay hold of, in Webster, would be traceable to this word.

The sb. *tackle*, if only in the sense of an arrow, in Bradley's Stratmann, could show a F. correspondent in *tacle*, « any bearded shaft... », in Cotgrave, while Godefroy has *tacle*, « sorte d'arme défensive, espèce de bouclier », for which we have not found an equivalent in English.

Tardy, F. *tardif* in Skeat. We meet with A.F. *tardi(s)* in Boeve de Haumtone :

La dame vus maunde, ke ne seiez *tardis*, l. 85.

Testimony is traced to Latin by Skeat. We find *testemoine* in G. de Berneville, *testimoine* in Marie de France, *testimoigne* in Bozon. There must have existed an archaic form *testimonie*, corresponding to *matrimonie* in Britton, I, 90 [1], which would remain to be hunted out, as well as, perhaps, *larcenie*. unless the form *testimoigne* is deemed sufficient, being phonetically the equivalent of *testimonie*, as *broigne* is occasionally spelt *bronie* (see Clédat, Petit Glossaire).

Treason occurs in M.E. as *traison, treison, tresun*. This last form is in Boeve de Haumtone, l. 973 D and in Britton.

Tryst, M.E. *tristre*, station in hunting, rendez-

1. Also A.F. *remedie.*

vous. No Etymology in Bradley's Stratmann. Skeat
refers is to Scandinavian as being a variant of *trust*.
But how does he account for the M.E. form *tristre*
(*trister*, *tristur*, *tristor*, in Bradley's Stratmann) ?
The word occurs in A.F.

> As *tristres* a mis les levrers,
> Les fols chens tint od les berners.
> > *Vie de St Gile*. ll. 1587-8.

> A un *triste* s'estut li rei,
> E vit venir la bisse a sei.
> > Ibid. ll. 1855-6.

And cf. several instances of *tristre* and *triste* in
Godefroy, where, however, they all are apparently
from the works of Anglo-Norman writers, if the MS.
Kassidorus, which we have not been able to identify,
comes under this description. Now the French word
titre, in the same meaning, confused with another
more frequent *titre* (*titulum*), and therefore spelt
tiltre in the two instances in the historical part of
Littré (s. v. *titre*), were more correctly spelt *tistre* [1]
and is, according to Hatzfeld, from the Scandinavian
tryst. The passage of the *r* from the first to the second
syllable [2] may be what gave rise to the confusion
with *tiltre* from *titulum*. Now this *tiltre* or *tistre*
passing into England with the Normans and there

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1. We witness the reverse process in *tistre*, to weave, which
occurs as *tiltre* in Godefroy.
2. *Triste*, Latin *tristem*, is occasionally spelt *tristre* in Godefroy.

meeting with the uncorrupted *tryst*, may have coalesced with it, introducing its *r* in the second syllable, soon to be dropped on account of the sounder sense prevailing in England of the etymological meaning of the word. To English minds it still conveyed the notion of « place of trust ». This would be one more case of coalescence between two cognates common to both languages.

Wave, sb.. A note of interrogation stands in the place of an origin in Bradley's Stratmann, and the word is compared to M.L.G. *wage*, M.Du. *waeghe*, M.H.G. *wage*. The forms recorded in Middle English, where the word first appears, are *wawe*, *waghe*. These seem to be precisely what the Norman *wage* would give. The word occurs three times in the « Roman de Tristan » :

> Trenchent les *wages* e les undes. l. 2579
> Levent *wages*, la mer nercist. l. 2872
> Une *wage* l'ad depescié. l. 2880

Waive. Skeat gives for its origin O.F.*waiver, not recorded. Bradley's Stratmann has : ?A.F. *waiver*. It occurs in Britton : « Femme.. peut estre.. *weyvé* » I, 50, translated : « a woman.. may be *waived*. »

Windlass. The M.E. form, in Bradley's Stratmann, is *windas*. It is the A.F. form in G. de Berneville :

> Gires se dort, car mult fud las,
> Od l'esterman lez le *windas*. ll. 907-8.
> Vunt as *windas*, lévent le tref. l. 803.

The word has lived on in French as *guindal*, *guin-
deau*. The corrupted form *windlas* occurs in « Le
Donnei des Amants » :

La tire e trait ma *wenelace*. 1. 812.

Would this correspond to the mod. F. *guinderesse?*
What we would be at is this. As there is no trace
of this word in O.E., may we not describe it as a
Norman rather than a Scandinavian loan-word? Of
course it ultimately is Old Norse.

A study of the A.F. texts is moreover useful in
connecting the French words and their English
representatives semantically. The following are the
results of a rapid inquiry :

Abet, from O.F. *abeter*, from *à*, to, + *beter*, to
bait, hound on, in N.E.D. But Burguy has only the
sense « to deceive ». The E. meaning, and one even
nearer to the etymology, appears in Britton, I, 15. If
a person, says he, was killed by a beast, let it be
inquired « lequel par cheen ou par autre, et lequel la
beste fust aprise a ceo fere et *abbeté* à teus maus
fere », translated : « whether by a dog, or other
beast, and whether the beast was set on to do it, and
encouraged to such mischief », in which example,
being used in connexion with a dog, *abet* recalls its
sense of « cause to bite, bait ». And we have here
two English words, *bait* and *abet*, ultimately from
the same source, Norse, one of which came in

through French. Let us add that *abet* is the probable origin of the verb *bet*.

Allowable, in its second sense of « acceptable », is, in the N.E.D., illustrated by an example no earlier than about 1552 (out of a glossary). It must then have been long in use in the courts of Law. « Et ceste excepcioun voloms nous qe soit *allowable* », writes Britton, I, 30.

Attach, a legal term. The N.E.D., in our opinion, fails to explain the meaning of obligation out of which springs that of *arrest*. It is obvious in these examples from Britton : « Et ceux qi serrount nomez el presentement soint *attacheez* de venir par personeles destresces », translated : « shall be attached to appear by personal distresses » I, 78. The same idea is conveyed in other terms in the following page : « maundez de venir à respoundre par destresces » (compelled by distress to come and answer) I, 79. The following quotation will make the sense plainer still : « Et si acun soit *attaché* par pleges » (and if any one be attached by pledges).

Attendant. In Britton (I. pp. 4, 5) you surprise the French word passing into English in its law sense : « En chescun counté soit un Viscounte, qi soit *entendaunt* as commaundemenz de nous.. ». The English translation runs ; « In every county let there be a sheriff who shall be *attendant* on our commands.. ». It is but fair to acknowledge that the N.E.D. has given a quotation of Britton illustrating

this fact, but you must go for it to the obs. word *entendant*.

Avert, turn away. One cannot at once realize why this verb adopted from French *avertir*, whose only meaning in French is « to inform » (in Littré's historical part there is no trace of another acception), should have taken the sense of Latin *avertere* in English. O.F. *avertir*, as the N.E.D. observes, represented both L. *avertere* and *advertere*. It has left but few traces in French, in the first meaning. It is so used in Frère Angier, where we also find « s'avertir de » answering to E. *advert*[1] in : « He nought *advert-ith* the menyng fraudulent ». LYDGATE — frequently spelt *avert*. Though we have no instance to adduce, we may infer, from analogical cases, the existence of an A.F. *averter — the normal F. *avertir*, with lengthened stem *avertiss-* having given E. *advertise* (curiously enough, for we should have expected *advertish*). This would go to proving that the spoken form was *averter*, *nous avertons*, whilst *avertir*, *nous avertissons*, was, as it were, a foreign and quasi-learned form, appearing only in written documents or books, and not influenced by current pronunciation. Another argument to the same effect would be the occurrence of only one *avertise* (without a *d*) in the pretty numerous quotations belonging to the same period in the N.E.D. We may lastly remark

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1. Also *advertise* : « To whose doctrine I dyd me advertise ».

how prolific this F. *avertir* has been which yielded three several important English words : *avert, advert, advertise,* — each particularized.

Award. The N.E.D. enumerates the senses of O.F. *ewart, eswart, esguart,* «look, aspect, attention, consideration, judicial decision, arbitrament ». In this quotation from Britton : « Et si Thebaud eit fet les eschaunges a Johan, james ne avera de ceo recoverir, pur ceo qe il le fit de soen gré sauntz autre *agard* » I, 283, we have the meaning of « judicial decision, judgment ». Another from the same author illustrates the verb : « Et s'il [les felouns] soint atteyntz a nostre sute, si soint il *agardez* a la prisoun » I, 123 — « They shall be awarded to prison », as the translation has it.

Blemish. How did F. *blemir*, to make livid or pale, give rise to E. *blemish*, to hurt, damage, do physical damage or injury to, deface ? We trace the passage of one sense to the other in : « Dreyture veot e Dieux le comaund qe ceo sacrament des esposaylez seit gardé sanz *blemure* » Bozon, p. 163. *Blemure* is here « stain ». The next step was « hurt, damage ». « Car nous volums qe Sainte Eglise eyt ses fraunchises *desblemies* » Britton, I,28. *Desblemies* means « unimpaired ».

Carry. How a verb of such restricted sense as *charier* or *carier* came to take such extension in English may well be wondered at. By the following

example we are put on the scent of its wider senses in Anglo-French. Robert de Ho writes :

> E qui ne se veut consellier,
> Ne d'autres ne se veut *charier*, ll. 967-8,

Where « carry oneself by others » means « suffer oneself to be guided by others ». To carry [conduct] a business, which is recorded no earlier than the end of the 16th c., will easily be evolved from this meaning.

Crown, the top part of the skull ; the vertex, and, by extension, the head. It has developed this sense from one that F. *couronne* had, viz. the tonsure of a cleric. It means the occiput in this instance from Boeve de Haumtone :

> Il treit sun espeie e tel coup ly doune
> Ke il ly coupe tretut la *coroune*. ll. 1200-1B.

Debar. Correcting Skeat, who pronounces the word a hybrid, the N.E.D. derives it from O.F. *desbarer,* to unbar. But how are we to reconcile the meaning of *unbar* with that of « exclude »? Britton has *debarrer* in this latter sense : « pur *debarrer* (var. delayer) la assise par excepciouns dilatories ou peremptories » I,305, which is rendered : « for the purpose of *barring* the assise by dilatory or peremptory exceptions ». This is « excluding ». The A.F. acception therefore was, not « unbar », but

« bar out », and this accounts for all the English uses of the word.

Despite. We would insist on the too often overlooked emphatic sense of the phrase « in despite of ». It has its full force in this example from Britton (the N.E.D. has not missed it) : « En despit de leur defaute » (in odium defaltæ), translated : « by way of punishment for their default ». The sense « in contempt or scorn of » comes next, as in this passage : « ceux qe monee countrefete... eynt aporté en noster reaume en *despit* et damage de nous et de noster poeple » I,25. In Lear (II, 4.33) Kent relates to Lear that he has been put in the stocks for assaulting a messenger from Goneril, who, arriving, while he was « commending » his letters to the Duke and Duchess of Albany, had delivered his own message « *spite* of intermission ». « For all I interrupted him », say the commentators, misunderstanding the whole for want of giving due importance to « spite of ». Steevens alone felt that it must mean « without pause, without suffering time to intervene ». His interpretation would gain by being worded thus : « Scorning to wait ». The clause is expressive of the confident expectation entertained by Oswald of a kind, privileged reception.

Distance, in its earliest English meaning, is « discord, quarrel », an adoption of a sense evolved in O.F. — « a difference » in Cotgrave. Britton writes : « ...*destaunce* est entre eux en queus feez

ou queles baronies le tenement est.. » I, 320, which the translator renders : « the contest is in what fees or in what baronies the tenement lies », and : « si deus seignurs soint en *destaunce* », that is « at difference » II, 41. This sense afterwards passed into that of « estrangement, coolness », whence the very English use of the adjective *distant*, reserved, as in « a *distant* Englishman ».

Enter, put a name into a list, is a sense without an equivalent in French. It had developed in Anglo-French. Britton writes (I, 12.) : « Et peus face le Corouner *entrer* soen apel et les nouns des pleges », translated : « Then let the coroner *enter* his appeal and the names of his pledges ».

Entitle, in the meaning *authorize*, is illustrated in N.E.D. by quotations only dated 1468. Now *entitlé* occurs in Britton (1292) : « Solum ceo qe en les chapitres de lour office serra *entitlé* », translated : « As shall be *authorized* in the chapters concerning their office », I,5 ; « ... les Justices... qi a ceo sunt de par nous *entitlez* » I, 7.

Gay. Kington Oliphant, in « The New English », coming across the sentence « he was *gay* among the ladies », in Mrs. Burney's novel « Cecilia » (1782), regretfully observes : « The beautiful old French word *gay*, always highly honoured in our hoary ballads, is degraded and expresses debauchery ». A quotation from the *Adventurer* (1754) in the N.E.D. where one reads that speaking of a man as *gay* was the

« fashionable phrase... contrived to palliate false principles and dissolute manners » shows the degrading process to have taken place earlier. Nay more, the sense of « frivolous, licentious » is in Anglo-French : « Del cors fut *guai*, del quer volage. FRÈRE ANGIER ; « Li *guai*, ensemble od lu lechiere » (levis ac lubricus), ibid.

Purloin, from F. *purloigner*, prolong, retard, delay, has made a gigantic stride to its present meaning « to steal ». It occurs in Prompt. Parv. as « prolongo, alieno ». Now if we consider that *aliener* and *aloigncr* are used indiscriminately for each other in Britton and that *aloigner* is the legal *eloin*, to divert money, it strikes you as very likely that *purloin* may have had the same history.

Range, vb. The English meaning of « go over » had been evolved in Old French, starting apparently from such a use as the following : « Quand on est en bonne compaignie et on a *rengé* les champs et chescun a son esprevier, on voit voler le sien et les autres et y a on grant plaisance » in Lacurne. The passage would be from the sense of « arraying » men to that of « going over » a ground, formed « in a line ». as in a battue. The French nautical phrase, « *ranger* la côte », is a solitary relic of the former acception, which occurs in the Anglo-French of Bozon : « ... les viles ou le pays vont *regeantes* (*sic*) — var. *renchant* —. De ceo se pleynt seint Pool e dit : Elles vont *rongeantes* (*sic*) — var. *renchant* —

les messons » p. 166. The Latin text runs thus :
otiosæ discunt circuire domos.

Rebound, vb., from F. *rebondir*, is commonly
used of sound. This was its earliest acception in
French. « E cume l'arche vint en l'ost, li poples
Deu duna un merveilleus cri, que tute la terre
rebundi. » 12th c. in Littré. Frère Angier has the
verb in the form *rebondre*, not *rebondir*, which,
with lengthened stem *rebondiss-*, would have given
reboundish.

Release, sb., *Releissier,* is found in Frère Angier
in the sense of « remit, pardon » : « pecchiez pardonez
e *releissez* ».

Saucer eyes, It is curious to find this very
English idiom in Boeve de Haumtone : « e les oyls
granz comme deus *saucers* » l. 1760.

Standard would seem to have developed in
English a sense which is not to be found in French ;
at least there is no trace of it in Godefroy, though
Cotgrave has *estandart* : «... also, the measure, or
scantling for measure, which we also call the Stan-
dard ». This passage from Britton is sufficiently expli-
cit : « Nous voloms qe nul ne eyt mesure en noster
reaume for qe nous, mes qe chescun prenge ses
mesures et ses peyz de nos *estaundardz* » l, 185.

Strike, vb. Two of the senses of this verb are
easily accounted for. 1. In O.E., *strican*, used intransi-
tively meant « to move, to go ». Whence « a man
well *stricken* in years », « a ship *striking* for the

land ». 2. The O.E. meaning of « rub, wipe » may have passed into that of « hit ». But how came the nautical phrase, « a ship *strikes* sail, her flag » ? In the absence of a historical dictionary, we have recourse to Kington Oliphant's New English, where we find « to *stryke* (*flag* being dropped) » noticed in the Paston Letters (1448-1460). The dropping of the word *flag* argues the antiquity of the phrase which did not then require more precision. The same author finding in Palsgrave *strike* applied to « letting down a crane » and Englishing « je lache », remarks that « our *strike sail* had been used centuries earlier ». Now in G. de Berneville we find a passage where the O.F. *estricher* is used in precisely the same meaning. The passage, full of technical terms, is rather puzzling. Yet this seems sufficiently clear that, as

> Bons fud li venz e la mer quieie :
> Ne lur estoet muver lur greie. ll. 883-4.

The wind being so constantly fair and the sea smooth, the navigators have not to shift the sails. The poem proceeds to enumerate all that they have not do :

> Ne lur estut pas *estricher*
> Ne tendre tref... ll. 891-2.

where, whatever *tref* may mean, whether mast, as the glossary says, or yard, as is more likely, or, by

extension of the sense, sail [1], the obvious purport of the sentence is : They had not to *strike* or spread sail.

Toil. Bradley's Stratmann thus states the origin of M.E. *toilen* : ? O.Fr, *toiller*, *toiller* (a misprint for *tuiller* ?). No doubt he hesitates to connect a word meaning « filthily to mix...together ; to... pester by scurvy medling, also to bedirt.. » Cotgrave, where the sense of « mixing » (still extant in dialectal French — Boulonnais *touiller*) predominates. Skeat, however, had already cited, in his errata and addenda, the A.F. *toelle*, torment. Britton has *toil* in the sense of « trouble, dispute » : « ... si soit le *toyl* entre eux et le viscounte.. » I, 129, translated : « the debate » — « ..et contek et *toyl* soit entre eux, » I, 283. translated, « a contest and dispute » — « *Toyl* de court » II. 264, that is, « litigation ». He has the verb also : « ...deus femmes *toillauntes* entour dowarie ..» II. 284, translated : « contending about their dower » — « ...plusours heirs *toillent* entour heritage... » II. 285, translated : « disputing about their inheritance ». This is a nearer approach towards the English sense.

Travel, vb. In Bœve de Haumtone the hero is thus greeted on arriving at the court of King Bradmund :

1. In Le Roman de Tristan *tref* and *sigle* are used indiscriminately. « E porterez i duble *tref*: L'un en ert blanc e l'altre neir ». ll. 2562-3. — « Idunc del neir *sigle* siglez » l. 2568.

« Beau duz sire cher,
bien seez vus venuz, venez reposer ;
Quele chose vus fist a moi *travailer* ? »

Travailer is here obviously used in the sense of
« wayfaring », though perhaps with the idea of
insisting on the labours and toils of the way. This
passage would tend to establish that the extension
of the sense of « labouring » to that of « jour-
neying » was not an English, but an A.F. acquisi-
tion [1].

Try. *Trier* from the sense of « sort » came to
mean « judge » in Anglo-French : « Ja ci grevouse
ne ert la cause qe ne peut estre *triee*, si verite peut
demonstrer sa meystrie » Bozon, p. 9. — « Si sei-
gnour de hostel ou prelat de seint eglise ou enquer-
rou[r]s qe vienent en pays vodreient leaument *trier*
un pleinte qe fet est sur baillifs ou sergeantz, il ne
poent venir a chief, pur ceo qe chescun procure
ses amys pur autre eider » Bozon, p. 77. — « ... si
soint chalengs *triez* » Britton I,30, translated : « let
the challenges be tried ».

Verge. We find in Britton the use of verge as a
law term, meaning « a limit or circuit » as Skeat
justly defines it : « Et qe le Seneschal de noster
hostel tiegne noster leu de eynz la *verge* de noster

1. Ysolt might cure Tristan :
     Mais ne puet pas a li aler
     Ne suffrir le *travail* de mer. ll. 2353-4.
          Thomas, *le Roman de Tristan.*

D — 9

hostel... » I,3. translated : « And the Steward of our household shall take our place within the verge of our household. »

The thought strikes you, when reading the A.F. texts, that some French words must have been imitated in English and that English words must have been infected semantically by their French equivalents.

Atone may have been shaped on French *auner*. It was preceded by « to be or make *at one* », which corresponds to the French phrases « être *à un,* mettre *à un* » : « Le pays d'Angleterre n'est pas bien *à un*. » FROISSART, in Littré. « Je ne me coucheray avant que je ne vous aye mis *à un*. » CARL., in Littré, and, in Anglo-French :

> Tuit sunt *a un* de l'espuser,
> Il del prendrë, els del doner.
> > THOMAS. *Roman de Tristan*, ll. 419-420.

— *Auner*, « rassembler, réunir », occurs several times in G. de Berneville (ll. 148, 2772, 501) and *aunir* in Britton : « Et si il ne se porount acorder a une volunté, si soint severez et examinez pur qey il ne poent *a unir* » (var. accorder, *a vner*), translated : « If they cannot all agree in one mind, let them be separated and examined why they cannot agree. » I,31.

Beforehand. The N.E.D. finds it difficult to

explain the origin of the phrase. Rather than going
to the Latin *præ manu, manibus* « at hand, in readi-
ness, in hand », we may consider it as a translation
of the French *avant meyn* (St Jean l'Aumônier, l.
132) or *devaunt meyn,* which we find in Britton
I,270 : « Jeo ly ay baillé C. sous *devaunt meyn* »
and rest assured that a term used in the law courts
could not fail to pass into the language.

Choose. The N.E.D. observes that the sense
« to pick out by sight, distinguish, discern, perceive »
is « an ancient sense; also in Old High German
and in F. *choisir* ». Yet it is not recorded in Old
English. Sweet gives only the sense « to choose,
select ». In the N.E.D. the first instance of *choose*
meaning « discern » is dated about 1300. Now this is
precisely the period when the Norman French
influence makes itself particularly felt. *Choisir* occurs
with the meaning now considered in G. de Berne-
ville ;

> Parler l'oent, meis nel *choisirent.*
> *Vie de St Gilles.* l. 2941.

Dis -. A study of the prefix *dis-* reveals how
French words were being imitated. *Desconnu,* in
Britton, 1,38, meaning « inconnu », unknown, is imi-
tated as is shown by the existence of the verb to *dis-
know,* to fail to know or acknowledge, in Sylvester
(1605) and *disknowledge,* to make unrecognizable,
used by Norton, 1576. *Despuniz,* in Britton, I,29, is

Englished as *dispunished*, quite useless where *un-punished* existed.

Find, in the meaning « to procure », occurs about 1200. We see the sense « to provide for » in 1375. *To find oneself*, i.e. to provide for oneself, occurs about 1386. Did the English word evolve this sense unaided, or was it influenced by the F. *trouver*, which we find with this acception in Britton? Here is the passage : « Qe les prisouns et lour meysné soint *trovez* de lour chose demeine », translated : « the prisoners and their families shall be *supported* out óf their own goods. » I, 44. It is an advance on the French usage : « N'avoie qu'un cheval qui me *trouvoit* [gagnait] mon pain ». *Berte,* in Littré.

Have. It may be mere coincidence that these two idioms are alike in both languages. « Si le bat tant que *mort le dut avoir* » Aucassin 30. 3.« 1489 Caxton. *Faytes of A.* Hannybal.. cam by fore the cyte for to *have hyt destroyed* ». N.E.D.

Have to, forming a future of obligation or duty, first occurs at the end of the 16th c. (the first instance dated 1579). It had long been in French usage, being indeed the source of the French form of the future (*amare habeo*). It occurs in the Law-French of Britton : « ... james ne *avera de ceo recoverir* », translated : « he shall never recover it. » I, 283.

Make good, prove to be true or valid, is, in the N.E.D., illustrated no earlier than 1525. Here is a French instance of 1292 : « Et si le garraunt *face* sa

partie *bone* » BRITTON, I, 59. « translated : « If the warrant makes good his case ».

Misunderstand was formed in direct imitation of *mesentendre* (in G. de Berneville). The same is true of *misdeed* (*mesfeit*, etc.) *misbelieve* (*mescruz*. Britton, I, 11).

To put oneself on the, one's country, to refer an issue to the jury. The following passage from Bozon will be cited with the sole view of adding to the interesting quotations (Latin and French as well as English) given by the N.E.D. to illustrate the phrase :

« Le leon tient sa court e vynt le berbys, si se pleint del lou qe il out tollet son aignel. Lors dit le leon al lou : « Coment volez-vous aquiter de cest fame ? — Sire, fet-il, *jeo moy mette en mes* [*procheyns*] *veisinez.* — Et queux sont ceux ? fet [le] leon — Sire, dit-il, le gopil et le corf et le mastyn. » Ces treis furent mandés e de veir dire jurés... » p. 77. *Se mettre en pays* is the current phrase in Britton (I, 29).

V.

The Northern French dialects put in their claim.

The Northern French dialects, as the possible source of many English words, have already been searched to some purpose.

For instance, the E. word *rabbit* had no known origin. Walloon *robete* (Remacle) is apparently the word which travelled into England and is found in 15-16th c. texts as *rab(b)ette* (N.E.D.).

E. *urchin* represents a dialectal form of F. *hérisson.* Is the extension of its sense, from a hedge-hog to a small child, English ? The fact is that it has taken place in the St-Polois dialect, where *irchon, urchon,* besides a hedge-hog, also means « un enfant relative-ment petit, et, par extension, un moutard » (Edmont).

In these dialects (of which we, living in their midst, possess some little knowledge — whilst the purely Normand dialect is foreign to us and has moreover been more carefully searched as the obvious

source of part of the English vocabulary) we find what may be the cognates of English words, if not their sources. In some instances the English words may have coalesced with their French synonyms or their forms may have been influenced.

Blear. To the cognates recorded in the N.E.D. let us add the Boulonnais *blére*. « Des yeux *bléres* » are, according to some, « squinting eyes », in the opinion of others, « dim eyes ». The same indecision seems to have prevailed in English minds. In the 1398 quotation « a *blere* eye » is one that sees « a manere rayne bowe » in viewing a candle. In 1547 it is an eye whose « under lyd is subverted », etc. The adjective *ébléré* in the Boulonnais dialect means « troublé, perdu, ne sachant ce qu'il fait. synonyme d'*éberlué* (= qui a la berlue) » (Haigneré). Also in the Normand dialect.

Bung, a stopper. The N.E.D. compares the word to Middle Dutch *bonghe* in same sense. It occurs in the Promptorium Parvulorum with the spelling *bunge*. Another 16th c. spelling *boung(e* suggests French derivation. May it not be the Picard word *bonge* for *bonde* (in Haigneré) [1].

Daze, intrans. vb., « to be or become stupefied or bewildered; to be benumbed with cold; to remain inactive or torpid ». Compare the Picard *daser*,

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1. E. *cluck* (of a hen, etc.) is obviously onomatopœic. Let it only be pointed out here that it occurs in the St-Polois dialect as *clouquer* (Edmont).

« être sous l'empire d'un assoupissement prolongé, invincible, dans certaines maladies ; sommeiller en temps inopportun » (Jouancoux). The word is in Godefroy.

Fitchew, polecat, O.F. *fissel* (pl. *fissiaulx*), later *fissau* (Cotgrave), in N.E.D. But the derivation, the early forms being 15th c. *fechu, fychew*, 16th c. *ficheuxe*, etc., is not phonetically clear. It is, in fact, an adoption of the Picard and Walloon *ficheux*, *fichau* (Haigneré).

. **Flap** occurs in M.E. simultaneously with *frap* (from O.F. verb *fraper* and sb. *frap*). The early meanings of *frap* and *flap* are identical, viz : « to strike ». [1] Other variants are *flab* and *flop*. Now all these variants occur in F. : *frapper ; flapir*, in Godefroy (with somewhat different meanings, it is true, such as : « friper ; fig., faner, flétrir, abattre ») ; *flauber, fleuber*, in dialectal French (see Jouancoux and Haigneré who refers to *flauper* used by Paul Féval in the sense of « to give a sound threshing ») ; *flopée*, in « une *flopée* de gens », Northern French, in Edmont, = « une *tapée* » = « beau*coup* de gens ». According to Kœrting the ultimate origin of all these words would be the Latin *faluppa-m*, « *quisquiliæ, paleæ minutissimæ, surculi minuti* », which moreover would have given F. *voluper, envelopper,*

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1. Cf. Swift's *flappers* in the island of Laputa whose business it was to *flap* their abstracted masters on the mouth or ears to recall their attention when any one spoke to them.

E. *envelop* ; F. *foupir ; fripe*, E. *frippery,* etc... This *flap* would be responsible for such onomatopœic variants as *flip, fillip, flip-flop.*

Flash, a pool. Of onomatopœic origin, says the N.E.D. It may, is there added, have been influenced by the synonymous F. *flache,* commonly regarded, according to the N.E.D., as a substantive use of *flache,* feminine of O.F. *flac,* adjective, « soft », but which Kœrting refers to M. Du. *vlacke,* a pool. We are inclined to think that E. *flash* is from an unrecorded F. **flasse* (cf., in Godefroy, *flassier = flacquier*). The variant *flask* also points to a F. original **flasque,* which may have existed by the inverse process which turned *flasque,* bottle, into *flache.* This is an important word to lay claim to, as it evolved the verb *flash,* which itself gave out another noun, both with numerous acceptions, and the adjective *flashy,* as well as several other derivatives.

Closely related to this *flash* is M.E. *plasche,* mod. E. *plash,* pool. Here again we find correspondents in French : *plasquier, plaquier, plasquis, plassiet, plaschiet, plassis,* in Godefroy. At Boulogne, *se plaquer =* « se tacher, se couvrir de taches de boue ».

Grin, O.E. *grennian.* The N.E.D. remarks that « the mod. Eng. *grin* appears to be a phonetic development, originally northern, of the older *gren-*(cf. *glent* and *glint, hent* and *hint*), but it presents a remarkable contact of sense and form with a number of Teutonic words belonging to a different ablaut-

series : O.H.G. *grinan,* to distort the countenance, gnash the teeth, grin, weep profusely, etc... » From this O.H.G. word was derived our F. *grigner* (see Littré s. v. *grigne*), *grigner* les dents, « les montrer par humeur ou menace », *grigner,* « to grin » in Cotgrave, and in Godefroy *graigne, graine, grinne, grigne,* « mécontentement, inimitié » ; *regrigner,* « faire mauvais accueil à ». In Picard, *grine* or *gringne,* « grimace » (Haigneré), *regrigner,* « imiter, singer quelqu'un » (ibid.), *regrigné,* « triste, renfrogné » in Old French (*se regrigner* in Froissart). Now the E. *grin* appears about 1300 and *gren* and *grin* live side by side till *grin* eventually triumphs. Might not the F. *grigner, griner,* be responsible for the E. *grin*?

Growl. Probably an echoic formation, says the N.E.D. — because « the continuity of the word is doubtful ». But the only two early instances must have been adoptions from the French. There is first the fact that A.F. *growler* (for the cry of the crane) occurs in Walter de Bibbysworth. Then the meaning « to rumble » (of the bowels) in Wyclif and Trevisa (*grolling*) is precisely that which we find in Palsgrave under : *I crowle* (see the word in N.E.D., also declared apparently onomatopœic though Palsgrave is cited) : « je *croulle* », this being most likely a variant of « je *groulle* », as Palsgrave has it elsewhere : I bocke, as a tode dothe, I make a noyse, « je *groulle* » ; I romble... « je *croule* » ; I roore, as water dothe in a

ryver... « je grondelle... je *groule* ». In Picard, *grouiller* or *grouler*, « gronder, faire du bruit »... « Mes boyaux i *grouillent* » (Haigneré) « *groulent* » or « *grouillent* » (Edmont) ; *grouler*, « gronder, murmurer » (Jouancoux), We may conclude, in the N.E.D.'s words, that *growl*, « if it did not occur between the 14th c. and the 18th, may... have been preserved in some dialect ». Kington Oliphant has noticed the disappearance of certain words for 500 years. Besides does *growl* so completely disappear when it occurs as *crowl* in 16th and 18th centuries ?

Hurl is said by the N.E.D. to be akin to L.G. *hurreln*. *Houler* occurs in the Picard dialect and means « pousser quelqu'un ou quelquechose avec violence ou rudesse » (Jouancoux, Edmont). « On houle des objets légers, mous et encombrants, du linge, des habits, de la paille, du foin, en les poussant avec les pieds » (Haigneré). The word is in Aucassin. 30.1 : « Il pris tox les dras qui sor lui estoient si les *houla* aval le canbre ». The forms *houler* et *hourler* must have coexisted (as « *bourler* » still said at Lille for *bouler* « bowling »).

John Dory, a fish, is termed in Boulogne *Jean doré*.

Manken, M.E., to maim. Cf. M. Du. *manken*, says Bradley's Stratmann. But ultimately, if not immediately, it comes to O.F. *manc*, in Aucassin, from Lat. *mancus*, Low Lat. *mancare*, to maim. The Scotland and Yorkshire obsolete dialects have vb.

mank, to fail, adj. *mank,* deficient, obviously French.

Pagan is, by the N.E.D., ascribed to Latin. But, by the side of O.F. *paien* (M.E. *paien,* in Stratmann) there must have existed the form *pagan,* which has survived in the Normand dialectal *pagan, pacan,* « homme du pays » (in Godefroy) and the F. *pacant* = a rustic, a boor, in Littré.

Pang, known after 1500, has no etymology in the N.E.D. Is it the same word as *pronge,* with the same meaning, in the Promptorium Parvulorum ? Is the loss of the *r* due, as Skeat thinks, to confusion with provincial F. *poigne,* grip ? We should propose a dialectal form of F. *peine,* Boulonnais *pangne* (Haigneré). Similar forms are found in Godefroy, viz. *peingne, poigne, poingne, paingne.* So pang would be a doublet of *pain,* adopted because sounding more expressive.

Pick-a-back. Is it simply fortuitous that in the district round Boulogne, they use the phrase *à bic-bac* precisely in the same meaning which the E. *pick-a-bach* bears ? This is the definition in Haigneré : « A *bic-bac,* en façon de charge disposée moitié d'un côté, moitié de l'autre, sur l'objet qui la supporte. Etre *à bic-bac* sur un sautoir [a stile], sur un cheval ; placer quelque chose *à bic-bac* ». Cf Godefroy : *Bic (de) ou de bec* = « de ci et de là ».

Round, rowne (in Halliwell), whisper. Cf Picard *royonner,* to hum a tune, not recorded, and vulgar French *rogner,* to be angry (murmur, grumble). Also

dialectal *rôner*, « bougonner » (see Revue des Patois gallo-romans, 1892, I, 206.)

Skip, to leap lightly. Skeat gives a Celtic etymology. But the original from which he derives it means « to snatch » ! In Godefroy we find *esquipper* in the sense of « éclabousser » : « . . . lui *esquippa* l'ordure du ruissel de la rue encontre li » 1424 ; and Hippeau gives the same word as « rejaillir, sauter ». In the Boulonnais and St-Polois dialects *équiper* = « faire saillie en dehors de quelque chose. Une pierre qui sort de l'aplomb *équipe* hors du mur ». The meaning seems to point ont that the two words are at least cognate.

Tatter. *Tattered* occurs in Middle English. It is, according to Skeat and Bradley's Stratmann O.N. *toturr*. We will just mention the presence of *taterele*, a rag, in Aucassin et Nicolette : « cil a ces vies capes esreses et a ces vies *tatereles* vestues » 6, 29, and refer to *tattrel*, a rag, in Scotch, about which Jamieson remarks that it is « a diminutive either from E. *tatter* or from Icel. *tetr*, Goth. *totrar*. »

Tinder, *tender*, are O.E. — *Tunder*, ascribed by Stratmann to O.N. *tundr*, may have been introduced by the Normans. We find in Picard *tondre*, « amadou », (Haigneré). Langland has *tonder*. See also Godefroy :

> Estupes, *tundre*, drapellez,
> Seches cosetes estramez
> P. DE THAUN. *Best.*, 1520. Wright.

Trivet, *trevet*, according to Skeat, is from Latin. He adduces an A.S. *trefet*, which is not to be found in Sweet. In Picard, *truvet*, « trépied » occurs (Haigneré) and also *treuvet*. In Godefroy : *truvet* ? « *Truvetz* de fer pour la cuisine » 1530. Béthune.

Trundle. The M.E. form (in Stratmann) is *trendlen*, O.E. *(a-)trendlian*. It appears as *tryndell* in Palsgrave. « The change of vowel, says Skeat, is curious ». Would it not be due to the action of the Picard and Walloon word *trondeler*. (Haigneré, Edmont) ?

What the English dialects say.

A study of the English dialects [1] may be a valuable source of information towards the identification of the French loan-words.

Let it be said first that the dialects have retained many O.F. words, which proves how deep the infection has been. Many French loan-words that one is apt to consider as purely literary adoptions, were really in popular use. Such are, for instance :

Avised (black-*avised*), complexioned, featured.

Dain (Ken.) (E. *dainty*), cross, irritable, having apparently developed the idea of squeamishness, « stand-offishness », hence crossness. O.F. *dain* in Cotgrave.

Dally (Sc. Irel. Yks. Lanc. Chs. Lin. Nhp. Oxf.

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1. We will, as a rule, not consider the F. loan-words recorded in the E.D.D. as in Scotch use *only*. An exception has been made in favour of Sc. *alkavolie*, the derivation of which required correction.

Dev.) (and *dilly-dally*), delay, loiter, waste time, A.F. *dalier* in Bozon.

Deray (Sc. Cum. Yks. Also Dev. Cor. Aus.) (M.E. *disray*, confusion) uproar, merriment, noise... A.F. *desrée* (Moisy).

Ditty (Chs. Lin. Shr.), a story, rigmarole ; a form of words to be repeated.

Dub (Nhb. Cum. Wm. Yks. Lan. Chs. Der.), dress flies for fishing, clip a hedge... O.F. *douber*.

Faytor (Yks. Also slang.), a vagabond, gypsy, fortune teller. O.F. *faitor*, a deceiver.

Fritch (War. Wor. Oxf. Brks. Hmp.), brisk, nimble (cf. *flitch.* adj.), O.F. *friche, frisque* (La Curne), E. *frisk.*

Insense, to cause to understand, O.F. *ensenser* (Britton, I, 32).

Lingy, lithe, flexible? helpless, limp. O.F. *linge* (Britton, I, 107, light, slight.)

Meech, to sneak, skulk ; *mooch*, idle or loaf about, O.F. *musser, mucher*.

Tetch (Som. Dev.), a habit, gait. O.F. *tache, tèche,* quality.

Several facts concur to make the identification of the French loan-words easier.

Dialectal words are sometimes semantically nearer the origin. That

Taunt (Sc. Yks. Wor. Shr. Hrf. e.An), is F. *tenter,* and a doublet of *tempt,* is not very readily

accepted when its sense of « mock » is so wide from what one would expect. Skeat says that it sometimes meant merely « to tease ». This is a sense it has preserved in dialects : « tease, pester with questions or requests, plague ». But it is impossible not to find the connexion with F. *tenter* in this dialectal use : he *taunted* me to go, i, e, he dared, *tempted* me to go.

Disease (w.Som.), annoyance, discomfort, has precisely the meaning of O.F. *désaise*.

Engine (Sc. Irel. Nhb. Dur. Yks., obs. or obsol.) still denotes intellect, genius, like its original, O.F. *engin*.

Pane (Irel. Ches. Lei. War. Wor. Hrf. Glo. e. An. Dor.) is a strip of cloth, or a plot of ground in a garden, like O.F. *pan*.

A word like *parfit* has not been refashioned on Latin as *perfect*, which *perfect*, but for the history of the word, would appear an adoption of Latin *perfectum*. *Parsil* and *patron* have not been corrupted into *parsley* and *pattern*. The old pronunciation has been better preserved. *Gillery* and *inveet* have kept the sound of French *i*, altered in *guile* and *invite*.

Garsh (w.Som.) sooner suggests F. *garscher*, scarify (in Palsgrave), than *gash* (former *garse*).

Jance (Yks. also Sus.), jance about, knock about, expose to circumstances of fatigue, and the sb. *jance*, a weary, tiring journey, show the connection of *jaunce* with *jaunt* in same sense, the phonetic relation

with which the N.E.D. declares to be obscure. *Jaunce* is said, in the N.E.D., to be *probably* derived from O.F. *jancer*, « to stirre a horse in the stable till he be swart withall » (Cotgrave). The E.D.D. is more affirmative.

Arles, *arns*, allows the lexicographer to connect *earnest*, a pledge. with O.F. *erres*, mod. F. *arrhes*.

Dare (Nhb. e.Cy. Lin.), a *dace*, points out to F. *dard*.

Caution however must be had. For instance dialectal *inkling*, an inclination, slight desire, is not the origin of E. *inkling*, a hint, but that very word apparently influenced by *incline* or F. *enclin*.

Being moreover encouraged by many etymologies found in the French, especially the Normand and Northern F., dialects, like *niffle*, to sniffle, Normand (and we may add Boulonnais and St-Polois) *nifler* ; *nifle*, to trifle time away, Norm. (in Boulonnais only the sb. *nivelet*, a novice), *niveler*, *nivellerie*, and *nivelier* in Littré's Supplement), etc., we will try tó make an advance in the same direction.

Acant is used in Yorkshire. A box is *acant* when it is not level with the ground. The E.D.D. sees in it the F. word *cant*, corner (mod. *champ* in « une brique posée de champ »)'. Would not this word be identical with E. *askant*, the etymology of which is unknown. But how is the *s* to be accounted for ?

1. Cf. Normand *can*, « côté » (Val de Saire).

The case would be identical with that of E. *squat* and dial. *quat*, E· *asquat* and dial. *aquat*.

Allavolie. In examining Wright's E.D.D. it struck us that the origin of Sc. *allavolie, allevolie,* at random, given as « à la voile », in full sail, was wrong. It is certainly « *à la volée* » in Cotgrave : « rashly, unadvisedly, inconsiderately, at random, at rovers, at all adventures, even as it chances, falls out, happens ». (For curiosity's sake we shall mention such other wholesale adoptions as *allecampagne* and *allee-couchee*).

Annet (Nhb.), a gull, is said by Arnold Wall to be « perhaps equivalent to O.N. *ond,* gen. *andar,* a duck..; O.E. *ened* », but also « perhaps English ». Let us compare to it Boulonnais *ainette, enette, anette,* St-Polois *anette,* a duck.

Brül(le (Sh. I.), low, bellow. Let us compare to it Boulonnais *brouiller* in same sense (Haigneré).

Brazzled, *brizled, bruzled,* (Cum. Yks.) scorched, parched, overcooked, is the same word as in N.E.D. obs. *bristle, burstle, brusle,* to crackle in cooking or burning. Derivation from ·F. *brusler* is doubtful. Might it not be F. *brasiller,* « faire griller sur la braise », 13th c. in Hatzfeld. (Cf. *babble, babiller*).

Chettoun (F. *chaton*) suggests that *catkin* may have been a translation.

Dove (Sc. Dur. Yks.), to sleep, slumber lightly, doze, is, by A. Wall, pronounced to be English or

Scandinavian. It is semantically nearer to dial. F. *dover*, « sommeiller » (Haigneré) than to dial. Norse *dova*, to idle, loll. We ourself heard an old woman say of her nights : « Je ne dors point, je *dove* », meaning that she did not so properly sleep as slumber.

Funk (n.Cy. Nhb. e.An.), to cause an offensive smell, especially in phrase « *funking* the cobbler », explained as : « filling an old person's room with fumes of brimstone or assa fœtida..., done by blowing pungent smoke through the keyhole », suggests Boulonnais *funquer* [1], to smoke (Haigneré). This is the probable etymology given to *funk*, blow smoke upon, in N.E.D. Sc. *funkie*, one who is afraid to fight, might be Boulonnais *effunqué*, given as *effouqué* in Haigneré, who says that, in Normand, *effouqué* means « scared ». It would be the origin of E. *funk*, a cowering fear.

Haze (Sc. Lin. e.An. Hmp.), to dry on the surface (no etymology in N.E.D. ; cp. Norwegian dial. *hesja*, frame on which hay or corn is put for drying, in E.D.D.), might be Boulonnais *hasir*, *hazir*, to scorch (the same idea expressed by *havir* in Littré) ; St-Polois *azir*, syn. *garzir* (Edmont).

Latheron (Sc. n.Cy. Nhb.) (referred by N.E.D. to *ladrone*, O.F. *ladron*, a thief ; by E.D.D. to F. *laideron*), a lazy, idle person ; a sloven, drab ; a dirty,

1. St-Polois *infunquer*, *infinquer*, « enfumer » (Edmont).

untidy woman or girl, might be the origin of E. *lazy* which occurs first in the 16th c. and the etymology of which is obscure.

Lungeous, *lungess, lunjies, lunjus*, awkward, clumsy, heavily built; *lungy*, lumberingly awkward, coarse, seem to be the vulgar F. *longis*, « homme extrêmement long à tout ce qu'il fait » in Littré, 16th c., rather than an E. formation from *lunge*, a thrnst with a sword, + *ous*, as the N.E.D. has it.

English grammar may owe more to French than has yet been realized.

There would remain to show that French in-
fluence, so deeply marked in the English vocabulary,
has made itself felt on English grammar as well.

It might be expected that the *numerous agree-
ments* [1] between the two languages were the products
of : 1. a period when the same man, a Gower, for ins-
tance, could speak and write both indifferently,
which is apt to blend together, not only two vocabu-
laries, but also two syntaxes; 2. whole ages when
French literature was being translated and imitated.
And in fact, it is not only individual French words
that passed into English, but French phrases and
idioms, like the *makes* and *dos* noticed in early

1. Sweet.

times by Kington Oliphant, — *make market, make memorie of. make semblant, make him way — do good to, do diligence.* Besides it is not easy to see why English, while drawing so freely on French for its vocabulary, should have stopped there and scrupled to borrow of its grammar. Yet the numerous agreements between the two languages, so Sweet tells us, are the result of independent development. The wonder is how two languages of different origin came to have so many grammatical peculiarities in common.

The question is a most delicate one. Foreign influence may be traced with certainty only in the case of a departure from former grammar, when the new feature does not rank among the possibilities of the old genius of the language. When such an inversion as « Death itself is not so painful as *is* this sudden terror » confronts us, we are conscious that this complete reversal of O.E. tendencies is inspired by French usage. Also, *all both, all two,* must be after French *tous les deux,* when *both* by itself expressed as much. — But the case is far from being always so simple.

That collective nouns should have been constructed, both in English and in old French, with a verb in the plural is a case of coincidence by no means surprising. That the indefinite articles E. *a,* F. *un,* should have stood as plurals, like E. *a scissors, a gallows,* F. *uns ciseaux, unes vespres, une matines*

(Rabelais), [1] — though the earliest instance of « a gallows » occurs as late as Caxton — may well be the identical results of independent development. For have we not E. *a few*, representing O.E. *ane feawa*, in which the plural *ane* stands for *some?* Whence such points of contact betwen English and Old French as :

A *sixty fathom, a six years, a two hundred years.*	*Ung seize ans* (Commines, in Littré).

That the same indefinite article should, retaining much of its original sense as a numeral, be used in both languages to express *one, one and the same*, as :

The killing of a man or the taking of his money were both *a matter*, 1551.	Ils estoient tous deux quasi d'*un aage* (Amyot).
He and his Philistions are of *a mind* (Shakespeare).	

when precisely what remained of its emphatic meaning in both languages would naturally preclude its use before abstract nouns, as :

He spoke with great eloquence.	Il parla avec grande éloquence.

---

1. *ungz gietz*, a payre of gesses for a hauke.
unes endentures, a payre of indentures of covynauntes bytweene partie and partie.
unes paces, a payre of pastes for the attyre of a womans heed,
ungz piegz, a paire of stockes to punysshe vacabundes.
unes verges, a brushe to brusshe with (Palsgrave).

is, again, what we might have expected in any two unconnected languages.

But in *part*, a French loan-word, used without an article, as : *part* of them remained, there must have been an adoption, not only of the word, but of the idiom, which, in French, consisted in the non-employment of the indefinite article before *part* and *partie*. And when, in the case of the definite article, we see that O.E. said *se mann*, for man (in general), *tha godan menn*, for good men (in general), *seo gesceadwisnes*, for wisdom (even when personified)[1], thus using *the* in a class- and collective sense and with abstract nouns, and when, at the same time, we find that in Old French the definite article[2] is often suppressed before the words *homme*, *chose*, *femme*, before nouns taken in a general sense and abstract nouns, there rises a doubt whether the modern English practice, which is a departure from former usage, was not an adoption of the practice of Old French[3].

The substitution of the construction with *of* for the old English genitive was generalized in imitation of the French construction with *de*. This is admitted by English philologists. That in both English and Old French the use of the genitive was preserved with

1. Sweet, 2066.
2 As also the indefinite article.
3. *In time of* may be : *en temps de*, as there is no doubt as to the adoption of a Frenéh idiom in « in lieu of », « in place of » — *en lieu de.*

names of persons and personifications and, in French:
in such phrases as *en iver tems, en non la vraie croiz,
pur Deu amur,* in English : in questions of time and
distance and with *sake*, must be accounted as a
transitional process which in English alone, the more
conservative of the two languages, has been perpe-
tuated.

The substitution of *you* for *thou* in addressing
one person is an imitation of French. Only the
imitators have gone farther than the originators of
the practice, and the constant use of *you* is a charac-
teristic English idiom. There was a time when the
alternate use of both *thou* and *you*, as Abbott justly
remarks, afforded a rich scale of shades. It had been
the same in French, and E. Etienne observes that it is
sometimes productive of picturesqueness and is well
adapted to the language of passion [1]. This curious
feature of Shakespearian language is indisputably
due to French influence.

The use of the personal pronoun for the possessive,
though of rare occurrence, existed in Old French.
« L'anme *de tei* en paradis seit mise » *Rol.* 2934.
It seems to be something new in English when Wyclif
writes : « the goyngus *of hem* », instead of « their
goings ». Of course, this is only doing with the genitive

1. Here is an example :
　　Hé ! gentis hons, et *c'ariés vous* conquis
　　Quant *tu m'aras* detrenchié et ochis ?
　　　　　　　　　　　Huon de Bordeaux, 743.

of a pronoun what had been done before with the geni-
tive of a substantive and carrying a little farther the
use of *of*, an imitation as we have seen of French *de*.
Yet in the particular instance, the analogy can hardly
be due to mere chance. Whereas such phrases have
been utterly dropped in French, they have developed
in English into such idiomatic and emphatic turns as:
for the life *of me*, the making *of me*, it will be the
death *of her*.

In both languages a few past participles are used
with active meaning. Old French « homme *bien
connu* » answers to obsolete English « *known*
man », = that is possessed of knowledge (the earliest
instance in N.E.D. being dated about 1449). A well-
spoken man has an equivalent in Old French « bien
emparlé », though we find none in Old French for
English well-*read* [1]. A *considerate* man (« un homme
considéré », in Littré, in the sense of « cautious »),
a *circumspect* man, (« un homme *circonspect* »), are
no doubt features of Latin syntax borrowed imme-
diately from French [2]. *Considerate*, in « *considerate*
admonition » is not *considered* in the usual meaning
(though near that in Shakespeare's « our more *consi-
dered* time »), and the historical arrangement in
N.E.D., as well as that s. v. *circumspect*, where the

---

1. *Learned* is a different case, having been preceded by *lered*,
past participle of *to lere*, teach.
2. *Considerate* would thus be an adoption from French, in
Latin garb.

adjectives are first shown in connection with actions, though borne out by the examples adduced, with however such small distances in point of time as 1422-1430, is more specious than convincing. The reverse order appears in Littré, where « un homme *circonspect* » occurs in the 15th c. and « prudence *circonspecte* » in the 16th. Practically it makes no difference whether an action or a man be *considerate* or *circumspect*, as is found on examination of the instances in the N.E.D. The upshot of these remarks would be that English past participles with an active meaning are likely to have been a French importation.

K. Oliphant, in his « New English », notes that in Gower's « for drede he shulde », *that* is dropped. Is this a new thing? Is it a Teutonic feature? It was frequent in Old French (E. Etienne, 402) : « Quant l'arcevesques vit ne purra conquester L'amur al rei » *Saint-Thomas,* 1346. If the suggestion is not French, the encouragement may be.

The extension of the construction of the infinitive proposition with *for,* so frequent in modern English, is represented by Kington Oliphant as having gone through these stages : 1. He was brought for her to see, i. e. for to see her. 2. It is pride for a man to make... (in Wyclif). 3. Course of kynde [nature] is for youth to be wilde (1400). 4. [Men were deprived of their lands] for him to be inducted (16th c.). But numbers 2 and 3 were obvious. They come to : 1. To make... is pride — for a man ; nor would the ins-

tance be quoted if it were worded : It is pride *in* a man to.... 2. To be wilde is course of kynde — for youth. « It is kind of you to do this » offers no difference with this phrase but in the use of *of* instead of *for*. These constructions could not be missed. Not so that in the fourth instance : it cannot be thus inverted. It is moreover such an advance as the logical development of the older one could hardly promise. It points to similar constructions in Old French : « Por la chose estre encore plus pesme.. Bonne chartre l'en a donnée » (in E. Etienne, 367) = for it to be still worse... etc. — « Si descent por moi acouteir » (ibid.) == for me to listen.

If there is a « characteristic and most important feature » of English, it is its use of the gerund. As it was « unknown to Old English and early Middle English » [1], the practice of French may not have been without its influence on the development of this idiom. This the N.E.D. declares. The gerund was most frequent in French. As in English, it had the form of the present participle. If, in English, the suffix *-ung -ing*, which was originally used to form nouns, developed into a gerund, in French, by an inverse process, the gerund came to be used as a noun, e. g. « a son *vivant* ; son *semblant* ; al terme de son *moriant* ».

In English, it was in the 14th c. that the formation

1. N.E.D.

became established, especially in the gerundial use, as an actual or possible derivative of every verb. The process was the following. There originally was the verbal substantive, as *down-coming* : the first step was to place the adverb after the verbal substantive : *coming down*, and then to extend this to adverbs and adverbial phrases generally, the verbal substantive still retaining its substantive construction : all manere of *withdraweynge of* other men thynges wrangwysely agaynes thair wyll. Then followed the practice of giving the verbal substantive a verbal regimen : without money *askyng*. LANGLAND. (1377). Now this was French usage, and, more than one century earlier, in Nicole Bozon, who is supposed to have written about the middle or the end of the 13th c., we find this sentence : « Veiez ici Havegif, un chien bien corant qe meynt alme chace en enfer par le seon *donant* (p. 31), i.e. by giving his own. The employment of both gerund, present participle and verbal noun would not but be reinforced by French usage. « Nous qe sommes *passants* », writes Bozon (p. 56). Is this a present participle ? Its agreement with the subject would induce one to think so. But the following example seems to settle the question : « Toujours est *travaillant*, toujours *en faisant* » (p. 147). The use of « en faisant » in a parallel construction shows that *travaillant* is a gerund. And then, why would not *passantz*, in spite of its form, probably due to confusion, be one too ? Can we not conclude by analogy

that in English « we are *passing* », passing is a gerund ? The English gerund was an obvious rendering of such phrases as « par *fleichissant* ». (Bozon, p. 72), « a son *moriant* » (ib, p. 115), « servi vos ai par mes armes *portant* » (in E. Etienne), « eüst grant peor de la teste *perdant* » (ibid). It was also handy for translating the French infinitive frequently employed as a verbal noun : « fieble pur mout *seigner* » Bozon, p. 70, « Meux vaut un *batre* de vostre amy qe un douz *beiser* de vostre enemy » Bozon, p. 66, « sans nul *recoverer* » *Boeve de Haumtone*, 1031 B, « Bons *beivres* e bons *mangiers* » Marie de France, 9. 22.

English is characterized by its free use of ellipses. One of the most frequent is that of both subject and verb after *if*. It is to be met with at every turn in Britton : « Et si il [le Corouner] troeve qe aukun avera esté mort par mesaventure, adunc enquerge par quele mesauenture, si il fust neyez, ou... ; et *si neyez*, lequel en mer, ou... Et *si en puyz*... » I, 14. The first example of this elliptical use is dated 1665 in N.E.D. An earlier one is « if not », apparently suggested by French « sinon ».

The elliptical turn *from a child*, the earliest instance of which in N.E.D. is from the 1611 Bible, occurs, three centuries before, in the French of Bozon : « Un riche homme qe un sergeant out norry *de un enfant* », p. 12.

· Many latinisms were very likely to be suggested by French. No doubt when Milton writes :

After the Tuscan mariners transformed,

Comus, 48.

he reproduces a Latin construction. Yet this students
of the law could meet every day in Britton, e. g.
« Tochaunt *nostre pes enfreynte* » I, 24, i. e. touching
breaches of our peace, or touching the breaking of
our peace, as Shakespeare would have indited it.
« De fauseners soit enquis, et ne mie soulement *de·
noster seal countrefet* » I, 25. « *puis lour felonies
fetes* » I, 36, after their felonies committed.

For the infinitive construction, which has taken
such extension in English, especially in its passive
form, French was a sufficient model. Britton abounds
in examples : « *Estre ceo volums*, qe Justices demur-
gent » I,5 ; « ...ne soefre *de estre fet* » I,14, suffer it to
be done ; « Et si hom troeve teles utlageries [outlaw-·
ries] *estre pronunciez* » ; « Justices... qi par malice
eynt *procuré pletz estre meus* » (have procured suits
to be stirred up).

It would be an interesting study to draw up a
list of all the successive French idioms and look for
their equivalents in English. You feel what a rich
harvest would repay your labours when you are
confronted with such wholesale adoptions as French
par voie de fait, Law English *by way of feat*, which
may have originated the English phrase *by way of*.

It is the N.E.D. that has made the preceding considerations possible. The author owes it a debt of gratitude which his studies to come will still make greater [1].

---

[1]. In that admirable work *one* slip has come under our notice. Certainly, s. v. *assert*, the quotation from Lamb's Old Benchers : « Their air and dress *asserted* the parade. » ought not to have been placed under 8b « to bear evidence of, bespeak ».

INDEX OF ENGLISH WORDS

cere, *vb.*, 50.
cerebral, 50.
cerfoil, 36.
character, 50.
charge, 84.
chart, 50.
chase, 84.
chattel, 84.
cheer, 87.
chemist, 50.
chervil, 36.
chettoun, 151.
chimera, 70.
chocolate, 73.
choice, 41.
choose, 41, 42, 135.
chord, 50.
chough, 76.
cinder, 40.
cinnamon, 73.
circle, 35.
circumcise, 50.
circumspect, 159.
circumstance, 50.
civil, 50.
clack, 83.
clang, 83.
clank, 83.
clap, 83.
clear, *vb.*, 86.
clerk, 34.
clever, 80.
clink, 83.
clove, 73.
coarse, 100.
cochineel, 73.
coetern, 54.
coeternal, 54.
cohabit, 50.
coincide, 50.
cole, 34. .
collusion, 50.

column, 50.
combinate, 70.
combine, 50.
command, 84.
commend, 84.
commit, 69.
commixtion, 54,
commodious, 50.
compassment, 55.
compel, 50.
compendious, 50.
compensate, 67.
competency, 86.
compound, 50.
comprehend, 69.
compress, 50.
comprise, 69.
compute, 50.
comrade, 73.
concave, 50.
conceal, 50.
concede, 52.
concept, 57.
concile, 56.
conciliate, 67.
conclude, 69.
concluse, *vb.*, 101.
conculcate, 57.
condemn, 50.
condiment, 50, 55.
condone, 102.
conduce, 69.
conduct, 67. 69.
confabulate, 67.
confabulation, 55.
confederate, 67.
confidence, 70.
confiscate, 67.
conflict, 52.
confrontment, 56.
congener, 52.
conger, 50.

congestion, 50.
conglobe, 50.
congratulate, 68.
congrue, 52.
congregation, 57.
conjure, 85.
connect, 67.
consequent, 50.
considerate, 159.
consolate, 70.
consolidate, 67.
consort, *sb.*, 50.
constitute, 67.
contemplate, 67.
contemporaneous, 70.
contiguous, 70.
continuate, 70.
continuous, 70.
contrary, 102.
contravene, 50.
contrite, 50.
contumacy. 70.
conversation, 88.
convert, 50.
convocate, 67.
convoke, 50.
coquette, *vb.*, 91.
cordiality, 57.
coronation, 50.
coroner, 50.
corpuscule, 57.
corrupt, 67.
corsy, 101.
coulter, 35, 50.
county-court, *vb.*, 91.
courtesan, 73.
court-martial, *vb.*, 91.
crack, 41.
cracklin, 41.
cramp, *vb.*, 102.
crassitude, 56.
craven, 78.

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